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es indicating the number of Agrarian Crimes for every 5,000 Acres, upon the Returns made to the House of Commons, from 1st January, 1879, to 30th June, 1886.

1 The Agrarian Crimes are less than 1 for every 5,000 Acres.

2 The Agrarian Crimes are 1 for every 5,000 Acres.

3 The Agrarian Crimes are 2 for every 5,000 Acres.

4 The Agrarian Crimes are 3 for every 5,000 Acres.

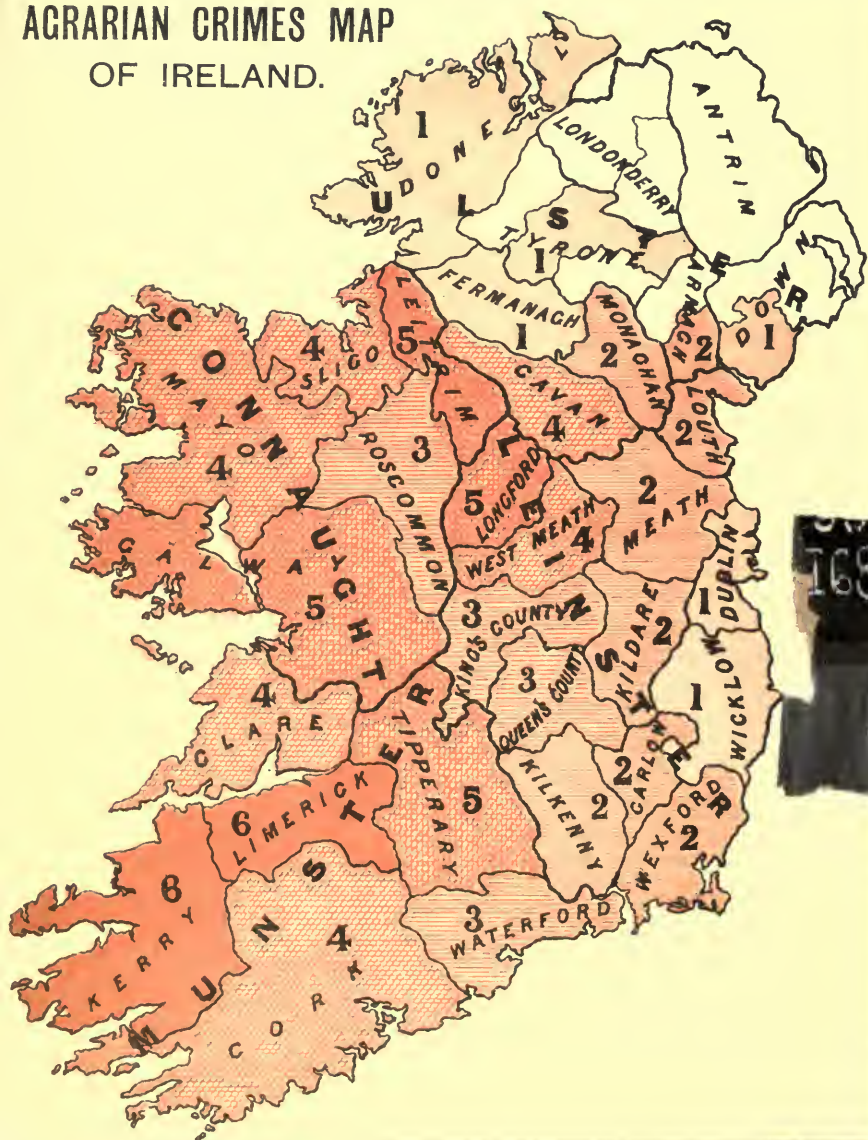
5 The Agrarian Crimes are 4 for every 5,000 Acres.

6 The Agrarian Crimes are 5 for every 5,000 Acres.

White portion indicates that part of Ireland which has not succumbed to the National Land League and the doctrine of Outrage and Murder, and in which Agrarian Crimes are considerably less than 1 for every 5,000 Acres.

N.B.—It will be seen that where Crime is highest the Parnellite vote is largest.—(See Parliamentary Map.)

AGRARIAN CRIMES MAP OF IRELAND.



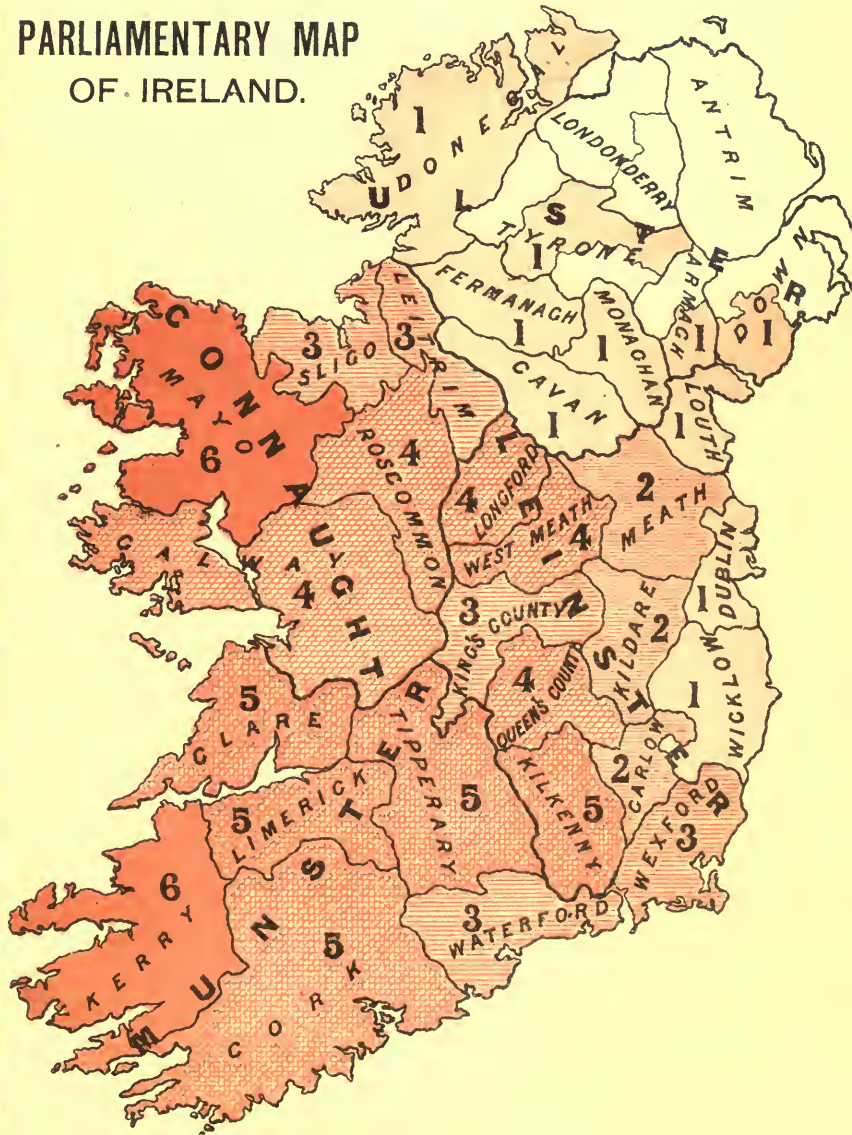
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Shades indicating the proportion of Parnellite votes and Loyalist votes in those counties in which M.P.'s for Mr. Parnell have been elected.

1	The Parnellite Vote 3 to 1 and under.	4	The Parnellite Vote 11 to 1 to 20 to 1.
2	The Parnellite Vote 4 to 1 to 6 to 1.	5	The Parnellite Vote 21 to 1 to 30 to 1.
3	The Parnellite Vote 7 to 1 to 10 to 1.	6	The Parnellite Vote 31 to 1 to 47 to 1.

The White portion indicates that part of Ireland which has not succumbed to the National Land League and the Unionist Members of Parliament, with two exceptions, Belfast, which has recently been the scene of fatal rioting, and the City of Londonderry.
N.B.—It will be seen that where the Parnellite vote is largest Crime is highest.—(See Agrarian Crimes 1)

PARLIAMENTARY MAP
OF IRELAND.





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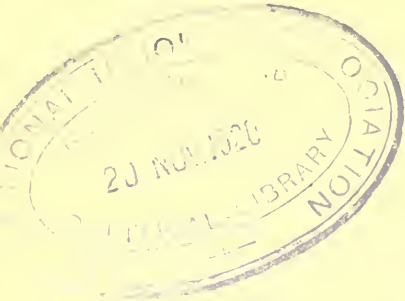
Irish Loyalist
5

“AS IT WAS SAID.”

EXTRACTS FROM
PROMINENT SPEECHES AND WRITINGS
OF THE
PARNELLITE PARTY
1878—1886:
WITH
CLASSIFICATION AND INDEX
AND A SKETCH OF
THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT.
ILLUSTRATED WITH
AGRARIAN CRIMES' MAP,
AND
PARLIAMENTARY MAP OF IRELAND.

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED
BY THE
IRISH LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC UNION,
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26, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON.

OCTOBER, 1886.



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A SKETCH
OF
THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

From 1878 to 1886.

I.

THE Parnellite movement, both in its scope and characteristics, stands out quite distinct from other Agrarian, Home Rule, and Fenian movements in Ireland. Combining, with elements of a quite new character, some of the most prominent points of each of its predecessors, it yet forms, as a whole, a completely new departure in Irish politics. The dream of "an Irish Republic, free and independent," amongst the disaffected classes of Irishmen, is as old as any of the historical events which can be called to mind regarding Ireland; but the efforts in this direction, to a great extent, lacked practical shape and form till Mr. Parnell and his associates betook themselves to the work of agitation. There had been amongst the "Extreme" moves,—an Irish Rebellion in 1798, a Young Ireland movement in 1848, and a "Fenian" rising on a very small scale in 1867; and amongst the milder stages of the revolutionary fever, there were to be numbered O'Connell's agitation, which succeeded in gaining Catholic emancipation; and Isaac Butt's Home Rule

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Association, which, prior to the dictatorship of Mr. Parnell, laboured to bring about some federal arrangement. Both types of agitation had their admirers and supporters, and both had a distinct following. Men through whose veins the hot blood of revolution coursed swiftly and violently, would only have to do with those active measures which suited their appetite and temperament, treating with scornful opposition those other classes who took sides with the quieter methods of O'Connell and Butt; while the followers of the latter, on their side, refused countenance to all other but the constitutional form of procedure. It was for Mr. Parnell, however, to change all this, and to work with such magical effect as to draw all sorts and conditions of men of a "Separatist" way of thinking into league with one another.

Mr. Charles S. Parnell, M.P., at present member for the City of Cork—"Rebel Cork" as it is affectionately termed by the "Extremists"—is a remarkable man. The eldest son of an Irishman who married an American lady of Republican ideas, he has from his very earliest days been trained to nurture an almost unaccountable hatred of all things British, and in private, as well, indeed, as in public, he makes no effort to shroud these thoughts of his. Entering the Imperial Parliament in 1875, at a time when he was twenty-nine years of age, he very soon acquired notoriety by the way in which he obstructed the public business of the Legislature. At the time he entered Parliament, Mr. Butt's Home Rule movement (on Federal lines) was in full swing; and Mr. Parnell became nominally a member of the party which supported the claim for this method of settlement of the Irish difficulty. But while nominally a member of the Butt section, he very quickly broke away from the leadership of Mr. Butt, and, joining with Mr. Joseph Biggar, M.P., Mr. John Barry, M.P., Mr. Lysaght Finnegan, M.P., and Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P. [who acted with Mr. Biggar, M.P., very constantly until Mr. Parnell got into Parliament, but after that not quite so prominently], and occasionally Mr. R. Power, M.P., Mr. W. H. O'Sullivan, M.P., and one or two others—all past or present members of the Fenian conspiracy—formed a sort of advanced section in the Irish party in Parliament of that period. Mr. Philip Callan, M.P., who afterwards became a rather noted

obstructionist, at this period adhered to Mr. Butt's leadership, and, indeed, opposed Mr. Parnell very violently up to the time of Mr. Butt's death, and afterwards ; but he subsequently gave valuable assistance in developing the organised obstruction tactics initiated by the new leader.

Mr. Parnell and his *confreres* lost little time in showing their condition of mind in the matter of hatred of all things English, and while, on the one hand, they spoke continuously and strongly in favour of the policy of Fenianism [when Irish debates were before the House of Commons], they, on the other, brought what has been called "the policy of exasperation" and obstruction to a positive science. As Mr. Parnell himself said, this policy was "perfectly simple," once the rules of procedure in the House of Commons had been sufficiently mastered. Faulty and inadequate as these rules were they had proved fully equal to all the requirements of debate till Mr. Parnell and his followers came to deal with them. Once they took them in hand, by a combination of cunning and entire disregard of gentlemanliness and courtesy, they succeeded in turning the House of Commons into a "bear garden," and making legislation for certain periods impossible. Such was the inadequacy of the powers given to the Speaker, that member after member could get up, speak on the most uninteresting subjects in the most ridiculous manner, and generally obstruct in the most pertinacious way, while still within their rights, as the rules then existed.

11.

While Mr. Parnell was at this time acting more or less in the capacity of an independent member, the action of himself and those who worked with him was attracting, for a wonder, the favourable notice of those "Extremists" who had hitherto "stood afar off" from the base of Parliamentary agitation. The clever combination of Fenian advocacy and Ministerial opposition which he practised, began to produce an effect upon those whose sympathies were touched by the first, and whose hatred of Government was in a degree satisfied

by the second. Butt's influence began to be undermined, curious talk began to be indulged in, there was a general shuffling of the dry bones, and anti-English spirits began to talk of something being "in the air."

There were, also, new influences being brought to bear on Irish politics at this time, for, as a result of the agitation in Parliament and Ireland on their behalf, the remaining Fenian prisoners who were still in custody, were set at liberty on tickets-of-leave. Their release took place on December 19th, 1877, and chief amongst them was Michael Davitt, who had been convicted on a charge of treason-felony, and had been sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. Mr. Parnell, quick to profit by the low murmurings and suggestive hints which came to him from the different elements of Irish disorder with which he had to do, resolved upon a bold stroke; and he quickly placed himself in line with the *advanced* men by breakfasting the released Fenians the morning of their arrival in Ireland at Morrison's Hotel, Dublin. This was a bold move for the Obstructionist Leader to take, for the men with whom he now allied himself had each a history, and that not a very satisfactory record. Davitt, the principal of them, had been proved to be in some prominent way connected with the doings of the Assassination Committee of the Fenian Society, whose Oath is as follows:—

"I hereby solemnly swear and make oath before the most high God, before whom I expect to be judged, that I will seek out and leave no means untried utterly to exterminate as enemies of Irish liberty, any persons who shall be guilty of perfidy, or of giving to our foes, the British authorities, any information which shall lead to the arrest or sentence of members of the I. R. B."

McCarthy, another of them, had been found guilty of swearing into the Fenian Brotherhood the soldiers of the Queen who were in the regiment of which he himself was a sergeant: and of being further connected with some hellish plot to poison the officers; and the remaining two somewhat insignificant prisoners, had equally unhappy records according to their positions.

Whether or not the plan of the new campaign, in which Messrs. Parnell and Davitt were to play such leading parts, was discussed in

any detail at this first meeting or not, it is hard to say ; but it is remarkable that Davitt allowed very little time to elapse before he took to active work in the way of developing the new departure. Davitt knew far better than Mr. Parnell how to work the "Extreme" men, and he lost no time in putting himself in touch with them. His lengthened confinement placed him at a disadvantage, of course, as regards full knowledge of the condition of affairs then existing : but he quickly got over this difficulty, and put himself *au courant* with all matters of importance by a quickly-undertaken tour amongst the most important centres of revolutionary activity. Nor was he idle in other ways, for communication was immediately entered into by him with the Fenian leaders in America. America has always been the hotbed of Fenianism, or, perhaps it would be more proper to say of Irish revolutionary scheming. For scores of years it has been the "City of Refuge" for all those guilty of treasonable designs or practices against the British Government ; while at the same time it is the home of all the "ne'er-do-weel's" of the Irish population : who either "leave their country for their country's good," or for other reasons of a less undesirable nature, emigrate to what will continue to be regarded by them, as the land of freedom and plenty. Therefore it is that Irishmen of the lower class, if they be not sworn to damage the British Government before arriving, are certainly not allowed to remain free from the shackles of secret societies for any length of time. It used to be a phrase of mockery and contempt in the lips of those opposed to Fenianism, that it was "the servant-girls of New York" provided the subscriptions wherewith the "war" was carried on against England ; but experience has proved that far more dangerous elements have to be grappled with, when Irish American Fenianism comes to receive attention.

III.

As was the case in Ireland just at this period, so it was in America. Things were very much out of gear. Dissensions and opposition by different cliques to the different methods employed

“to free Ireland,” had left matters in a complete state of disorganisation. But if there were spirits like Parnell and Davitt in Ireland anxious to make some forward movement of a strong and determined type; there were not to be found wanting in America men of similar ways of thinking, and of ready capacity to fall in with, and work the idea. The movement, too, was exceedingly well-timed, for just at the moment old men were being discredited, and younger and more daring tempers were coming to the front. O'Donovan Rossa was fast losing his influence, and men like John Devoy, convicted of swearing British soldiers into the Fenian organisation; John Breslin, at one time a Government official in Richmond Prison, who had played false to his trust and assisted the Fenian chief, James Stephens, to escape; General Bourke, who had headed a Fenian rising, been sentenced to death, and subsequently amnestied; and others of a similar type, were taking the reins in hand. The characters and intentions of these men can be fully appreciated when it is stated that they were the trustees of a fund called the “Skirmishing Fund,” subscribed by the Irish Americans for the purpose of damaging the Empire in every possible way, blowing-up public buildings (for even at this time—1878—dynamite was talked of), assassinating obnoxious individuals, and like methods of “warfare.” They were typical Extremists in thought, word, and deed. But all the same they were not averse to joining hands with the Irish leaders for the purpose of becoming more powerful, and subsequently subordinating the views of these others to their own.

An understanding was soon arrived at between the Constitutionalists [Messrs. Davitt, Parnell, and others] on the one side, and the Irish-American representatives on the other; and public indication was soon given of the lines of the “new Departure.” Mr. Parnell, as became his new position, was the first to lead off. Speaking at a Home Rule Convention in Dublin, he fiercely assailed the policy hitherto acted upon by Mr. Butt, declared for thorough-going “obstruction” in Parliament; and delivered a remarkable speech, marked throughout by the fierce hatred of Imperialism, of which mention has already been made. “We have been told,” said Mr. Parnell, “that the Irish have lain down like dogs under the heels of the English. That Ireland has given up the contest she has carried

on so long. Have we given it up? I don't believe it. I don't believe we have given up that fight. I believe you want that fight carried on. . . . The country has seen the men of *energy and activity* encumbered by inactivity and obstruction [this was not Parliamentary obstruction], and they have felt it was almost hopeless to work under present circumstances and present conditions." England, he went on to explain, had given Ireland the power of a franchise equal to her own, and she should now either cast about her for some method of depriving Ireland of this weapon or give Ireland *her rights*. "She cannot recede from the issue," he continued, "she must either give yours [rights] or surrender her own. There is no option, no escape for her. . . . I said when I was last on this platform, that *I would not promise anything by Parliamentary action* for any particular line of policy, but I said *we could help you to punish the English; and predicted that the English would very soon get afraid of the policy of punishment.*" And so he boasted of English hatred, and the crippling of the British Legislative procedure to willing ears.

Mr. Parnell, having kept his part of the bargain and broken with Mr. Butt and the Moderates of the Constitutional side of the agitation, the Irish-Americans were not slow to fulfil their's. Accordingly a despatch was immediately cabled to Mr. Parnell, signed by the men already referred to, and running in the following terms:—"The Nationalists here will support you on the following conditions: 1. Abandonment of the Federal demand and substitution of a general declaration of self-government. 2. Vigorous agitation of the land question on the basis of a peasant proprietary, while accepting concessions tending to abolish arbitrary eviction. 3. Exclusion of all sectarian issues from the platform. 4. Irish Members to vote together on all Imperial and home questions, adopt an aggressive policy, and energetically resist coercive legislation. 5. Advocacy of all struggling nationalities in the British Empire and elsewhere."

IV.

This move was a startling *volte-face* from the position hitherto occupied by the "Extreme" section; and although matters were fully understood at "headquarters" with regard to the ins and the outs of the "New Departure," some explanation was necessary for the general crowd of conspirators. And this explanation Mr. John Devoy, the leading spirit amongst them, supplied in the following statement, which obtained publicity through the press:—"Ireland can never be freed," said he, "through the British Parliament or by constitutional agitation in any form; but constitutional agitation is one means of advancing our cause, and we should avail ourselves of it. The world judges us, and, above all, England's enemies judge us, by our public representatives, and in the times that are coming we can't afford to be misrepresented any longer. There is no use sending men to the British Parliament to beg, but we can send men there to protest before the world against England's right to govern Ireland; and when *all is ripe* we can command our representatives to withdraw from the British Parliament and meet in Ireland as a national legislature. It is only through such means that the whole Irish race the world over can be aroused, and then active sympathy enlisted, and when that occurs the work is half done, and we can wait patiently for the result." "Do the Irish Nationalists intend to abandon their physical force theories and mainly depend on constitutional agitation?" asked *The New York Herald* reporter, referring to the cable despatch. "Not by any means," was the reply. "We simply don't believe in little insurrections that England can crush in a few days or weeks. We propose that, in the event of war, Ireland shall keep quiet; that the organised Nationalist outside of Ireland shall actively assist England's enemies and hurt her whenever and wherever they can."

But while advanced and constitutional politicians might be quite happy at forming such an alliance as this, it was quite another and far more difficult thing to get the great mass of the people in Ireland, who did not and would not belong to revolutionary societies as such, into line with the new movement. But Devoy and his associates

were in no way nonplussed by these difficulties which stared them in the face. "No party or combination of parties in Ireland," said he, "can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people except it honestly proposes a radical reform of the land system;" and, continued he, while it might probably be necessary to await the establishment of an Irish Parliament before the confiscation and abolition of landlords, which he advocated, could take place, still, "in the meantime, good work will have been done, sound principles inculcated, and *the country aroused and organised.*" In short, the land agitation was to be used as a means to an end, for the purpose of *arousing* and *organising* the country. The old cry of exorbitant rent was to be raised, and, by banding the people together in a land organisation, the nucleus of the future Army of Independence was to be formed. The plot was further developed in perspective by Devoy's suggestion of having the municipal offices filled by Nationalists, which would, he said, lead up to a condition of things by which, "with men of spirit and determination as parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or obstruct."

With the platform thus put together by the united exertions of the different parties to the treaty which had for its ultimate object the Disruption of the Empire, there was little delay in getting the new movement fully under weigh. Meetings were immediately held in the south and west of Ireland, and, working on the money supplied from the "Skirmishing Fund," organisers were at once sent over Ireland to put matters in train. The public meetings started off with an enormous gathering at Irishtown, in County Mayo, on the 20th April, 1879, where Thos. Brennan, the future Land League Secretary and then Fenian, provoked cheers for Cetewayo by the statement that their fight was one for independence; and that they should be glad to see their enemies obstructed and harassed, no matter where or by whom, whether it be in Westminster or Zululand, whether the attacking party be commanded by a Parnell or a Cetewayo. Mr. Parnell was not present at this gathering, which partook more or less of the character of a "test" meeting, but he put himself *en evidence* at a meeting in Westport in the month of June following.

where the question of rents was first definitely raised ; and where he administered the advice to the tenants "to keep a firm grip of their holdings," or in other words to refuse the payment of rent, and to offer organised resistance to evictions. Davitt promulgated his principles for the new agitation at Castlebar in August, and read to the meeting he then addressed, the proposed constitution of the new organisation ; and on the 20th of October following the first meeting of the Irish National Land League, as it was called, took place in Dublin, Mr. Parnell, M.P., being present, but not in the chair.

Two resolutions adopted at this meeting call for notice : the first ran in these words :—"That none of the funds of this League shall be used for the purchase of any landlord's interest in the land, or for furthering the interest of any parliamentary candidate," and it was a pretty plain indication that at this time there still remained a certain amount of scepticism regarding the efficacy of Constitutional procedure, and an intention to keep the money free for "active service." And the second resolution was to the effect that the President of the League (Mr. Parnell had accepted this position) should be requested "to proceed to America, for the purpose of obtaining assistance from our exiled countrymen and other sympathisers" for the objects of the League. Of course it is not to be understood for a moment that the Land League was the only organisation which undertook the collection of funds to relieve the distress which undoubtedly existed in Ireland at this time. Quite the opposite. The Duchess of Marlborough, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the *New York Herald*, and several other individuals and institutions inaugurated funds ; and their collections were quite enormous in amount when compared with what was received by the Land League. One peculiarity connected with these funds was, that whereas full and complete balance-sheets were forthcoming regarding all those outside the Land League's undertaking, it has hitherto been found impossible to obtain any *accurate* statistics regarding the disbursement of the amount collected by Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. They did publish a balance-sheet of the "Relief Fund" up to a certain date, but not afterwards, and there remained a surplus which has not been accounted for.

V.

Meetings now succeeded each other with great rapidity in Ireland, and although, generally speaking, the speeches were delivered with a due regard to the requirements of the moment, in showing a moderate front ; at times there were significant passages in the orators' harangues, and the hearers broke forth into such cries as " We don't want to be loyal ;" " We will get it [so-called justice] by physical force ;" " By the rifles ;" " We will fight for it ;" " A cheer for the Fenians ;" " Another cheer for the Fenians ;" &c. The spirit of hatred, and almost devilment, which was communicated to the people by the hints and inuendoes employed on the platforms began to manifest itself, and the lawlessness of the worst portion of the population to produce saddening results. The Agrarian Crime Returns soon disclosed a decided, if gradual, rise. Davitt spoke in Castlebar in September, and while there had only been forty-five outrages in the previous month, this number was increased by twenty in the month referred to. In October the numbers stood at one hundred ; in November, at one hundred and sixty-seven ; and, varying, in December numbered one hundred and thirty-five.

Mr. Parnell left Ireland at the end of the year 1879, and, in company with Mr. John Dillon (an enthusiast of the strongest possible anti-Imperial views), landed at New York on the 9th of January, 1880, where Mr. Timothy Healy, then private secretary to him, shortly afterwards joined them. He was everywhere received by the Fenians with open arms, and not alone by the Republican portion of the American community, but by very many others who sympathised with the then condition of Ireland, threatened as she was with a visitation of famine. Mr. Parnell was all things to all men, and when in the midst of his Fenian colleagues he grew positively eloquent on the subject of physical force. At Cleveland, three weeks after he had landed, he told his hearers, when speaking of the use of arms in the freeing of Ireland, " Well, it may come to that some day or another." At Rochester, subsequently, " he was bound to say that every Irishman should be prepared to shed the last drop of his blood in order to

obtain a solution" of the question. Because the *New York Herald* had taken the landlord side of the struggle, he said, "The best punishment for the *New York Herald*, when it goes to the lower regions, would be to send the Irish land system and the *British Government with it*." At Pittston, on February 16th, he told his hearers that "from the blood of the brave Connemara women who resisted the home-destroyers (this is an euphemism for landlords) shall spring up a power which will sweep away, not only the land system, but the infamous Government that maintains it;" and at Cincinnati, just a week afterwards, he boasted of the coming downfall of the landlord system, which had been "*the corner-stone of English misrule*. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment," he continued, and then went on to make the momentous assertion that "none of us—whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." Of course all these statements were rapturously applauded. Why should they not be—ministering, as the speaker was, to the revolutionary sentiment of his hearers?

But while Mr. Parnell was haranguing the forces of Irish-American Fenianism in this way, he was too practical to forget the special object of his mission; and he made quite as much headway in the matter of getting money from both the revolutionary section and the moderate sympathising native American. As a result of this visit Land League branches were started right through the United States for the ostensible object of collecting funds to aid the distressed Irish at home, and with the more secret aim of organising the brethren, so that the "sea-divided Gael" might all be joined together in this last grand move for what Mr. Parnell described as the destroying "of the last link which keeps Ireland bound to the Empire."

The American tour was, however, brought to an abrupt termination at the commencement of March, 1880, when a hurried summons was cabled to Mr. Parnell to return to Ireland for the General Election, which was to take place almost immediately. The work of organisation had gone on apace during his absence, and when he arrived back in Ireland things were very pleasantly situated for him.

All the resources of the Land League were immediately brought into play in order to have candidates returned who bore the *imprimatur* of Mr. Parnell. The "Nationalist" Leader had already indicated what his policy in the choice of candidates would be. He wanted a certain type of Parliamentary representative who should be young and clever, able to study and become acquainted with matters in Parliament connected with Imperial interests; and who could, by speaking and discussing the details of these, pursue to the full the "policy of exasperation." It was not a very high ideal, but it was one suited to his particular position. He wanted to give satisfaction to those behind him, and he could not do so save by clothing Parliamentary representation with some of the attractiveness, which it could only have in Fenian eyes, by bringing the Imperial Legislature into contempt. Another requirement of this new type of Irish representative was to be found in the fact that, as a general rule, he was not to be a man of much social standing; for the policy which it would be necessary at times to pursue would necessitate an entire absence of scruple, principle, and independence.

VI.

The working of this policy served to demonstrate the way in which public opinion was being paralysed in Ireland, and the hold which the organisation was getting over the entire South and West. A number of men unknown, save in the secret councils of Fenianism, were returned to Parliament; their only plea for public recognition or distinction being that they were undoubtedly possessed of ability, even though misdirected in its application. Not one of them had a stake in the country, and, with some couple of exceptions, they were all impecunious. At the time it was matter for wondering comment that they should have been able to defray the expenses of their return to Parliament, much less to maintain themselves in London; and, for a period, though various suggestions were made, the matter remained in uncertain obscurity. But time brought the solution of the difficulty, as it almost always does, and it then

crept out that the money which had been subscribed for the alleviation of distress and the purposes of Land Agitation alone ; and which was precluded by the special resolution already quoted, from being applied to parliamentary expenses, had been pretty freely used. But of the money question more anon. The reference to it is only useful here as demonstrating at what an early stage the unscrupulousness of the Agitators was shown.

Meantime, the undercurrent of Agrarian agitation had been assuming more alarming proportions, and the results of the gospel of hatred and rapine were making themselves felt. And it became a subject for strong remark that crime always followed in the track of the organisation's development. In January, 1880, twenty-six meetings were held throughout the southern portion of the country, and no less than one hundred and fourteen crimes were reported ; in February there were fifteen meetings and ninety-seven crimes ; in March twenty-two meetings and eighty-three crimes ; and in April, although there were only four meetings,—the elections had just terminated,—the people were so stirred to passion that there were sixty-seven crimes. In May, June, and July, there were only some seventeen meetings each month, yet there were eighty-eight, ninety, and eighty-four crimes reported. With the rising of Parliament in August the members were set at liberty to pursue their speech-making and inciting in Ireland ; and, accordingly, the meetings doubled trebled, and quadrupled in quantity, and crime increased to a proportionate extent. In August thirty-eight meetings stood on the list, opposed to one hundred and four crimes ; in September the numbers were thirty-two meetings and one hundred and sixty-seven crimes ; in October seventy-seven meetings and two hundred and sixty-eight crimes ; in November one hundred and nineteen meetings and five hundred and sixty-one crimes ; and, in the last month of the year, the meetings numbered one hundred and ninety and the crimes eight hundred and sixty-seven. In short, the total of the crimes which had occurred in 1879 was eight hundred and sixty-three, while those in 1880 numbered two thousand five hundred and ninety.

So hot, indeed, were things becoming in Ireland, that the Government of the day (a Liberal Administration led by Mr. Gladstone),

found it necessary to place fourteen of the principal leaders and speakers on their trial. The jury, however, could not agree, and Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were once more at liberty. But if the prosecution was abortive as far as the Government were concerned, the Parnellites thought the opportunity too good to allow it to slip, and much capital was made out of the occurrence; the Government were defied and ridiculed; and, ever eager to profit financially by the varying phases of the movement, a Fair Trial Fund was started, the moment the prosecution was notified. Your Irish patriot of the latter-day type, *à la* Parnell, never forgets the treasury. Like the leader of the Salvation Army, he considers the proceedings could not be regarded as formal unless there is a collection.

Elated with their triumph over the Government, the Agitators went ahead with amazing recklessness; and their commendation of crime and outrage was the most striking characteristic of their stand at this time. The Extremists had no cause for finding fault with the way in which "the treaty" was working. They had pledged their money and support if, under the Parliamentary movement, "active" work was allowed to progress. And active work was progressing with a vengeance. In the year 1881 (there is no use in troubling with further details regarding each month's quota) the total murders, outrages, &c., mounted up to the enormous number of 4,260! "You can carry and use pistols," said one Land League organiser. "I say you must organise and establish a branch of the Land League. *There has been more good done since this week—there has been a landlord shot at Ballinrobe!*" shouted another to an excited, cheering crowd of hot-blooded peasants.

"*You, the members of the Local Land League, can use your exertions to get everything in favour of a person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord,*" said J. G. Biggar, then and still a Member of the Imperial Parliament; and Mr. Brennan, the Secretary of the organisation, who was always fond of telling what the "tyrants" suffered in the French Revolution, read with pride, from one of his reports to his Central Council, that "early in March about two hundred persons were arrested in the

west of Ireland, and tried on the charge of assaulting process-servers. *The League defended all the prisoners*, and succeeded in getting verdicts of respital in most cases, but seventy-five persons were convicted," &c. After the reading of which report a resolution was passed to support the families of the prisoners, and to attend to their lands and dwellings during their confinement. And so, by incitement from the platform, and commendation and assistance from the League itself, murder was idealised and crime transposed to virtue. In order to the better assistance of their ends, a weekly journal, called *United Ireland*, was started in Dublin, and by this organ the most revolutionary of sentiments were sent flying over the entire of the country.

VII.

It seemed as if there were no bounds to the fiendish proclivities of the new class of Irish patriots. Despite all the efforts made to close up the tenantry in one solid rank, the gospel of plunder failed to present attraction : and there remained some who, despite the teachings and warnings which were addressed to them, dared to transgress the unwritten law, and to act in direct contravention to the orders of the Agitators. It became necessary, therefore, to punish persons acting in this way ; and not alone to punish them, but to make of their cases, lessons which would have the effect of deterring others from doing likewise. The Reign of Terror was not complete, and another weapon required to be introduced, to the keeping of lands from which tenants had been evicted, out of cultivation. Accordingly, therefore, Mr. Parnell, in words of strange significance, enunciated another article in the new creed as follows,—his remarks being addressed to a meeting of tenants in Ennis, in the county of Clare :—

“When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him—you will find what the meaning of the word ‘show’ is afterwards—on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets or the town,

you must show him at the shop counter—(a voice, ‘shun him’)—no, the word was not ‘shun’ but ‘show’—in the fair, and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship. Leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he were a leper of old; you must show him that that is your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it, that if the population of an entire county in Ireland carry out this doctrine, there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinions of all right-thinking men within the country, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws.”

These remarks were principally directed to what the League described as “traitorous tenants;” but the new application of warfare was too effective to be confined to tenants. Obnoxious persons, landlords, agents, and others of different classes, were soon encircled within its operations; and from the fact that Captain Boycott, a land agent, was one of the first systematically affected by it, the method of treatment became known as “Boycotting;” which title still exists, and has, ere this, found a place in the reprints of our modern dictionaries. What Boycotting in time really amounted to, is best described in the following quotation :—

“It means—that a peaceable subject of the Queen is denied food and drink, and that he is ruined in his business; that his cattle are unsaleable at fairs; that the smith will not shoe his horse, nor the carpenter mend his cart; that old friends pass him by on the other side, making the sign of the cross; that his children are hooted at the village school; that he sits apart like an outcast in his usual place of public worship; all for doing nothing but what the law says he has a perfect right to do. I know of a man who is afraid to visit his own son. A trader who is even suspected of dealing with such a victim of tyranny may be ruined by the mere imputation: his customers shun him from fear, and he is obliged to get a character from some notorious leaguer. Membership of the National League is, in many cases, as necessary a protection as ever was a certificate of civism under Robespierre. The real Jacobins are few, but the masses groan and submit.”

Boycotting was an idea hitherto unthought of in the range of agrarian procedure, and it proved such a powerful weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous section of the community that it began to be practised in the most wholesale manner. Its application could not be affected by law, owing to the peculiarity of its inception and the manner of its practice. The law, while it can take cognisance and

powerfully punish criminal conspiracy and procedure, cannot proceed against a man or body of men for refusing to hold social intercourse with another; or for withholding those interchanges of every-day life which tend to produce comfort or to foster progress. And so the new method thrived and prospered, and Government looked on askance but powerless. But the development of the practice was in no way cloaked as regards its results; and, whilst the Agitators themselves sought to shirk the responsibility for the attendant consequences, there was no lack of testimony as to the truth of the situation. "What is meant by Boycotting?" asked the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the then leader of the Liberal Government, who held the reins of power; and, answering his own query in the House of Commons at Westminster, he replied, "In the first place, it is combined intimidation. In the second place, it is combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberties of choice by fear of ruin and starvation. In the third place, that being what 'Boycotting' is in itself, we must look to this: that the creed of 'Boycotting,' like every other creed, requires a sanction, and that the sanction of 'Boycotting'—that which stands in the rear of 'Boycotting,' and by which alone 'Boycotting' can in the long run be made thoroughly effective—is the murder which is not to be denounced."

But "Boycotting" and other methods and systems of League procedure, flourished and progressed, despite the denunciations indulged in, and so hot was the situation towards the end of the year 1881, that Mr. Parnell and some of his leading followers were arrested under what was termed a "Coercion Act;" but what was simply a measure passed into law in order to allow the Executive to grapple with the extraordinary state of things brought about by the agitation, and on suitable cause shown to confine men without trial. The measure to an outsider may seem a little arbitrary, but it should be remembered that an exceptional state of affairs existed; and such a Reign of Terror was in force as to make it impossible for those charged with administering the law, to obtain convictions. Murders of the most horrible and brutal character were each day staining the annals of the country; and although little doubt existed as to their origin and source, the conspiracy was so complete as to prevent the whole truth becoming known. Events crowded upon each other

very quickly at this period, and from the arrest of Mr. Parnell and others in October, 1881,—something like 1,000 of the conspirators throughout the country were imprisoned under the special Parliamentary powers spoken of—to the month of May, 1882, the times were of a very stirring character indeed. All the principal leaders of the conspiracy were unfortunately unavailable for arrest; as gentlemen of the peculiar type of bravery of the Messrs. Redmond, quietly scuttled away to Australia on hearing that warrants were out for their arrest; and turned the period of their absence to good account by collecting money from the Colonists by misrepresentation. In Colonial lands these gentlemen executed a complete *volte-face* by taking to singing “God Save the Queen” instead of cursing the Queen and all things English; and speaking in honeyed language instead of the wild revolutionary sentences which attached themselves to their utterances on Irish soil. The Messrs. Redmond, it may be mentioned in passing, are credited with collecting £15,000 as the result of their mendacity.

After the arrest of the prominent Leaguers, a Ladies’ Land League was started, and “the mothers, the sisters, the cousins, and the aunts” of the “Nationalists” inside and outside of prison, set to work to collect funds to sustain the so-called needy brethren, and to make the lot of those in confinement as easy as possible by the supplying of such luxuries as prison regulations allowed. And by this means a good many of the characteristics of martyrdom were tacked on to the cases of those who were undergoing the just consequence of their wrong-doing. The only other remarkable matter which occurred during the imprisonment of the leaders which calls for notice at this point was the issue of a “No-Rent Manifesto,” signed by them and smuggled out of the gaol in which they were confined. The manifesto called on the people to pay no rent while their self-styled leaders were confined; and although not universally adopted, the advice [if the document, indeed, should not be styled the command] led to a very alarming condition of affairs all over the country, the obligations and forces of the law being set at naught in the most determined manner.

VIII.

This state of incipient rebellion culminated in what is known world-wide as the "Phoenix Park Murders," whereby Lord Frederick Cavendish, M.P. [on the day of his arrival as new Chief Secretary for Ireland], and Mr. Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary, met their deaths on the 6th of May, 1882. The record of the 6th of May, 1882, is the record of a crime of almost unparalleled audacity, and unequalled atrocity. The civilised world shivered as the revolting details flashed across the electrical wires of Christendom; and there is scarce need now to burthen this sketch with a recital of the horrible facts. In the calm of a summer's evening, ere daylight had taken its departure, these two gentlemen, walking in the Phoenix Park, were set upon and unmercifully butchered by a body of so-called "Irish Nationalists;" who seemed for the moment to cease to be human, and to be effaced from the Divine image. The crime was the work of the active section of the Irish "Nationalist" Party, who took to themselves the name of the "Irish Invincibles." They had been organised by the notorious John Devoy, whose name has already appeared in these pages in connection with the Parnellite negotiations with the "Extremists" in America.

While Devoy arranged with the Obstructionist section he organised the "Invincibles," and laid the foundation of future movement in the direction of dynamite explosions. So far back as January, 1881, he made his intentions, or rather moves, quite clear in a speech which he delivered to the New York Branch of the Irish National Land League, in which he indicated the policy of reprisals as follows:—"Our aid has hitherto given the people the impetus that has brought about this state of things. Shall we desert them in the hour of peril? No; for every Irishman murdered we will take in reprisal the life of a British minister. For every hundred Irishmen murdered we will sacrifice the lives of an entire British Ministry. For a wholesale massacre of the Irish people we will make England a smouldering ruin of ashes and blood. The receipts of the Land League are now

£100 a day, and that is ample for their wants, but we want a fund that will aid us in carrying out this design." And then he referred to the "Skirmishing Fund," urging that it was quite unable to meet the drain upon it, and therefore should be augmented without delay.

The murders were, however, a little inopportune, and placed certain parties of a "National" way of thinking in an awkward predicament. Mr. Parnell and others of the leaders had just been released from prison prior to the assassinations, they undertaking, by arrangement with the Government of the day, to assist in passing certain measures into law which would have a satisfactory tendency in the country. The arrangement has come to be known as "The Kilmainham Treaty," [Kilmainham was the name of the prison in which Mr. Parnell was confined] and it is not a creditable record either to Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, who sought the aid of the Agitator who had come to be styled the "Uncrowned King" of Ireland, or to Mr. Parnell; who, in the course of communications on the matter, offered to use the Land League organisers who had got up the outrages, and who had planned the "Invincible" operations—but of this latter Mr. Parnell had to say nothing—to reduce the country to a state of quiet. But, as has been already said, the Nationalist leaders were placed upon the horns of a dilemma by the murders. To retain their position in public estimation, it became necessary that they should at once repudiate the assassinations; and at the very great risk of having their stroke of policy mistaken and misunderstood, they immediately issued a manifesto condemning and deploring what had taken place.

Of what happened after this between the conspirators behind the scenes, the world still remains in ignorance, but there were not wanting indications to show that the recriminations were of a strong and decidedly bitter character. Those of an "Oppositionist" way of thinking wanted to have a still further proof of the would-be-believed opposition of the League to this kind of thing, supplied by the offer of a reward for the discovery and conviction of the murderers; but even the public treasurer of their funds—Patrick Egan—scoffed at the idea, and refused outright to give any such lying representation of what their true feelings were. Telegraphing, four days after the

murders, to the editor of the Nationalist daily paper in Dublin, he said, "Editor, *Freeman*, Dublin: In *The Freeman* of yesterday, Mr. James F. O'Brien suggests a reward of £2,000 out of the Land League fund for the discovery of the perpetrators of the terrible tragedy of Saturday. Remembering, as I do, the number of innocent victims who in the sad history of our country have been handed over to the gallows by wretched informers, in order to earn the coveted blood-money, and foreseeing the awful danger that, in the present excited state of public feeling, crime may be added to crime by the possible sacrifice of guiltless men, I am determined that if one penny of the Land League fund were voted for such a purpose, I would at once resign the treasurership." And his action in this respect was warmly commended in the "Extremist" press. Mr. John Devoy, still the spokesman of the active section, writing, in regard to the matter, in his American organ, said, "Patrick Egan has spoken out like a man against the adoption by Irishmen of the base English policy of suborning informers. He declares that should a penny of the Land League funds be devoted to such an object he will resign the treasurership. Mr. Parnell should at once repudiate the attempt made from this side to connect him with action so culpable and un-Irish. By consenting to become the trustee of the Irish-American blood-money he would forfeit the sympathies of his warmest admirers." And again, at a later date, he wrote, "The Irish members *have not yet recovered their heads*. At a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party on Wednesday (10th May) the opinion was expressed, that if Mr. Gladstone's Bill be confined to its nominal objects—the improvement of the administration of justice and the suppression of secret societies—it would meet with very general acceptance. IT WOULD SEEM THEY ARE TIRED OF GETTING MONEY FROM AMERICA, AND ARE WILLING TO PUT DOWN THE MEN WHO PLACED THEM WHERE THEY ARE."

IX.

But the assassinations of the 6th of May, 1882, if they were horrible and ghastly in their inception and development, were fated

to lead to a somewhat better condition of things in Ireland. The arm of Parliament was strengthened. There was little desire now to halt in the matter of placing exceptional powers at the disposal of the Executive; and a better and a stronger state of mind succeeded that condition, in which men and legislators had previously looked rather stupidly on, while civil war was marching apace. The funerals of the murdered officials had scarce been concluded, ere Government was called upon to legislate in the matter of Irish criminal procedure. And as a result of what had then taken place, the Crimes Act of 1882 was placed upon the statute book. By this measure it became possible to change the venue and remove prisoners for trial from disturbed districts—where verdicts of acquittal were foregone conclusions—to places such as the chief city in Ireland, where impartial consideration could be given to the cases, undisturbed by local influences and terrorism; to arrest men without the delay necessitated by the ordinary law; to summon witnesses [like as was in the case in other parts of the United Kingdom, but not, unfortunately, hitherto in Ireland], and examine them with regard to their private actions; and to suppress public meetings and newspapers, when such tended to produce crime or incite to outrage. The measure became law on the 11th of July, the delay in passing it through its different stages, being caused by the fierce opposition of the Parliamentary representatives of the “Nationalist” party, who used obstruction in every possible form to prevent the Government proposals becoming law. But to no effect.

The Land League had been suppressed on the 20th October, 1881; Davitt had been previously re-arrested for some inattention to the requirements of his “ticket-of-leave;” the Crimes Act now came into operation; and the remedial legislation of the previous year or two was obtaining consideration and trial, so that there was not much “active” work engaged in as far as outward appearances went. Slowly but surely the power of the law, commenced to make itself felt; and under the new methods sanctioned by the Legislature, things commenced to right themselves. Informers became only too eager to tell the secrets of the different conspiracies; details regarding the various murders came to light with rapid succession; juries commenced to convict; the men who had been arrested on suspicion,

and since released, now secretly left the country, as information regarding their wrong-doing came to hand; and convicted "Nationalist" murderers, had to pay the penalty of their crimes on the gallows. The evidence of the different informers was always distinct and startling in its significance. Carey, the sub-leader of the Phoenix Park murderers, and whilom companion of certain of the Fenian Members of Parliament; who had obtained a seat in the Dublin Municipal Council through the advocacy of the special "National" organ, *United Ireland*, was of opinion, when examined by the Crown, that the money for the Phoenix Park murders "must have come from the Land League"—an opinion in which his colleagues of the "Invincible" conspiracy shared. Another informer, speaking of the working of the "Invincible" organisation in the country, said it had been arranged at the outset, that "the Land League would supply the new society with arms." . . . The members were all to get their expenses, and were to "go into different counties, and even England, to shoot landlords, bailiffs and spies, and the Land League would pay their expenses." While a third, who was the chief leader of the Moonlighters in the south of Ireland [the name being taken by lawless peasants who went about disguised at night shooting persons and breaking into dwellings], told the Court that he got "£12 on two occasions from Dublin. . . . There were also rewards given for bravery, at these outrages, in money, and a Parnell medal was sometimes given."

But this reassertion of the claims of law and order in no way suited the temper of the Nationalists, whilst the disclosures which were forthcoming filled them with anger and dread. Accordingly, there commenced a terrible outcry; and insinuations were made about juries being packed, and unfair trials taking place. The administration of justice was impeached, and charges of the most corrupt and iniquitous character were launched against the Executive. *The Irish World*, the great American organ of the active section, commenced a series of articles glorifying the crimes of the past, and inciting to still greater atrocities; and to make murder an attractive and paying proceeding, a special fund was opened to support the families of those who had been convicted in connection with the Phoenix Park and other assassinations. Sums of £300 each were

distributed amongst the various families of the imprisoned or executed "Invincibles."

Meantime efforts were being made to resuscitate the suppressed organisation, and, under a new title, it once more sprang into being, the name now bestowed upon it being the "National" instead of the "Land" League; and things went very merrily forward for the agitation. As Irish parliamentary seats became vacant, they were filled up by Mr. Parnell's nominees; his staff commenced to gain substantial recognition for alleged services in Parliament in the way of money testimonials; and the people were being either persuaded or coerced to join the resuscitated organisation. Where coaxing and persuasion failed to obtain their allegiance, "Boycotting" was put in full swing, and the work was carried on so cautiously and dexterously that but little opening was left for Governmental movement. Under the Crimes Act *regime*, crime had visibly decreased. For the latter half of 1882, when it first took effect, there were only 836 crimes recorded; for the following year, 1883, the number was only 834; and for the year 1884 the record showed 744. From January to June, 1885, there were 373 crimes, and from April to June there were 299 people wholly or partially Boycotted—this latter period being the first for which a "Boycotting" record is available.

X.

This brings this narrative up to the middle of last year, 1885, when the Crimes Act, being only a three years' measure, lapsed; and, owing to parliamentary troubles, was allowed to go unrenewed. A new element was introduced into Irish politics at this time, by the formation of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, of which something has been said in the opening pages. Although the platform of the Union has now been broadened and strengthened by the addition of several planks; it was originally started in April, 1885, with the specific object of testing the strength of the Parnellites at the polls, in the course

of the General Election which then threatened. A new and popular franchise had been created by the Reform Act of the then ministry, and the Parnellites loudly boasted they would "sweep Ireland." And it was to bring out the truth in regard to this that the Union was first formed. But it was no easy task which those who established the Loyal and Patriotic Union set themselves to do. Loyalty there was in Ireland, but it was undoubtedly loyalty under cover ; and where it had been hitherto manifested it found expression in different camps. For six years previously the Loyalists of Ireland had unquestionably been foolish ; for, for that period they had remained apart, clinging to the old traditions of party, and, in some cases, of creed ; being therefore weakened because of the absence of unity. And other difficulties of a different character had also to be overcome. Classes were disunited too. The landed interest stood apart from the commercial interest, and although the latter were ready to admit that the interests of both were bound up together ; still considerations of prudence and fear held them back from openly espousing an unpopular cause—for the landed interest was unpopular because it was, as Mr. Parnell himself explained, the corner-stone of British rule in the country. And still yet another barrier to unity remained in the case of Ulster, the northern province of Ireland. Ulster was distinctly Protestant in its religious view, as opposed to the Roman Catholic sentiment of the South and West ; it was also distinctly Orange in its religious bias ; and because of its being, by reason of these circumstances, very little tinged with the "Nationalism" of the time, it held aloof from the Union movement for a little time. But ultimately all became welded together, and for the first time in Irish history there was a combined Loyalist party fronting the party of Disintegration.

The elections of 1885 were fought out in Ireland with results which were not by any means unsatisfactory. The boast of the Parnellites that the South and West were "solid" with them, received a check ; and it was plainly demonstrated that, even with the practice of the most cruel intimidation and coercion, the Parnellite party could only get 227,019 electors to cast their votes for them, out of the 364,767 which formed the register of the contested constituencies. This applied only to three southern provinces, to which efforts of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union

were at this time confined; but when the Ulster returns were included, the case for the Unionists was wonderfully strengthened; and when all the voters were added together, it was shown that only 295,269, out of the total Electorate of 585,715, voted for the "Separatists," or little more than one-half. The abstentions, however, did not affect the return of the Parnellite Members of Parliament for three-fourths of the Irish constituencies.

When the elections had concluded, the platform of the Union was considerably broadened; and arrangements were at once made for developing the work outside Ireland. Offices were opened in London for the supplying of information on Irish affairs; and efforts were immediately set on foot to educate public opinion in England and Scotland, both by the holding of public meetings and the distribution of literature. In holding public meetings the Union but followed the ordinary course of stirring public opinion: in opening a special Press Bureau, however, rather a novelty was introduced in respect to Ireland; but the success which attended the venture fully realised the hopes which were entertained regarding it. It may be of interest to mention at this point, as indicating the amount of the work accomplished in this direction, that up to the present date there have been circulated from the offices of the Union, over 10,000,000 of leaflets, 439,000 pamphlets, and 143,200 posters, all of which have been distributed broadcast over the face of the United Kingdom.

While the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union were working in this way, the Parnellites were by no means idle in the matter of fostering the discontent, which they brought to life in the earlier days of the conspiracy. It has not been thought advisable to weigh down this summary of history, with quotations from speeches of a similar character, delivered right through the campaign which the agitators carried on; but some little space may well be taken up here, with a few excerpts from the speeches delivered at this period, indicating as they do, the continuance of the same desires and intentions with them. For instance, Mr. W. H. Redmond, M.P., one of the brothers who visited Australia for the League [in order to escape punishment], speaking in the House of Commons during the discussion on the

Reform Bill and addressing the Ministry of the day said : " You need not think that it (the Reform Bill) will have the effect of staying the agitation of a Separatist character which exists in Ireland, for if you give us this Bill, or twenty more Bills of the same description, we will never cease from that agitation until we fully obtain our object." Mr. Sexton, M.P., was of opinion that " the people of Ireland had learned that they must fight the Government, foot to foot, and that they must pursue a policy of retaliation and give back blow for blow ;" while Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., glorying in his lawlessness, told a gathering of peasants in the County Carlow, that " The trouble in Egypt (cheers for the Mahdi) was less perilous to the existence of the Government at this moment than the trouble with Ireland. The trouble with Russia (cheers for Komaroff) was less perilous ; and for his own part he was glad to say that our own little island was the greatest trouble the English had (cheers). They had been told the Government was likely to go to smash over this question. Well, the sooner the better (cheers). At all events, he thought the Irish Party could promise this, that if the Crimes Act, or any substantial portion of it, was to be renewed, it would not be until after a hard fight for it."

Nor was the Leader [Mr. Parnell] himself behindhand, for, speaking at Arklow, County Wicklow, in the month of August, 1885, Mr. Parnell said : " I firmly believe in, perhaps a few months, certainly not longer than a few years, we will bring back to you, to your soil, and to the people of Ireland, the right to govern Ireland at home, and to banish English misrule for ever."

XI.

The Parliament elected in 1885 was not fated to be of long duration. The verdict of the polls was to displace Mr. Gladstone's Liberal Ministry, and to return a Conservative administration to power. But not for long. For, defeated on a side issue (they had but a very slender majority), they gave up the seat of office again to

Mr. Gladstone; who now appeared in a totally different *rôle* from everything that he had previously appeared in ; and, despite all his previous statements to the contrary, went in fully for Home Rule. Speaking during the November elections at Edinburgh, he had said (and this was before the result of the elections were known):—

“ I will suppose that, owing to some cause the present Government has disappeared, and a Liberal Party was called to deal with this great constitutional question of the government of Ireland in a position where it was a minority dependent on the Irish vote for converting it into a majority. Now, gentlemen, I tell you seriously and solemnly that, though I believe the Liberal party to be honourable, patriotic, and trustworthy, in such a position as that it would not be safe for it to enter on the consideration of a measure in respect to which, at the first step of its progress, it would be in the power of a party coming from Ireland to say: ‘ Unless you do this and unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow.’ ” (Cheers.)

Yet this is exactly what the right honourable gentlemen did now do. Admitted to office on sufferance by the Irish Party, he immediately set himself to curry favour with them, by completely turning round and ignoring all the honourable dictates of his previous position. He simply set all prior utterances at naught, and presented the truly unfortunate spectacle, of an aged statesman false to the traditions of his party and his great personality. But, for the honour of the great English party, it must be recorded that it refused to follow him in a body. Like the Veil of the Temple, the party was rent in twain by the adoption of the new policy, and a section, now known by the title of the “ Liberal Unionists,” broke away. And be it noted the “ Liberal Unionist ” section contained, and does contain, the most honourable and capable of Liberal Administrators, like the Marquis of Hartington, M.P., Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., and others.

Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill, which practically amounted to a “ Bill for the better guaranteeing of Independence to Ireland,” and he was defeated. And another General Election ensued on the Prime Ministers’ appeal to the country for an endorsement of his policy. But, thanks to the work of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, and other Unionist Associations, the country

was properly educated on the subject, and gave a distinct repudiation to the "Separatist" policy. As a consequence, Mr. Gladstone and his Home Rule followers now inhabit the cold shades of opposition; and an "Unionist" but not Coalition Government occupies the seat of power. The Unionist Liberals ceased not to be less Liberal because they spoke and agitated against Home Rule; and when a cordial offer was made to them to join the present Ministry, they refused the alliance which would necessitate a change of traditional policy, while giving every guarantee to support the Conservatives in their Imperial, as opposed to the Gladstonian-Separatist, policy.

And so it is to-day as regards the Parliamentary position. But in Ireland itself matters have not made such favourable progress. The lapse of the Crimes Act has given a new lease of life to outrage and crime, which still continues to be indulged in to a very large extent. This is shown by the Returns of the outrages indulged in since the Act ceased its operation. For the last half of the year 1885 there were five hundred and forty-three crimes reported—a doubling of the numbers for the first half—and eight hundred and ninety-one—or three times as many—cases of Boycotting. From January up to June, 1886, there were five hundred and fifty-three crimes and eight hundred and ninety-nine cases of Boycotting reported through Government Returns. To sum up the whole criminal record of the past seven years, it may be said that there have been during this period no less than 14,374 cases of law-breaking, ranging over murder, manslaughter, conspiracy to murder, firing at persons, assaults on police, bailiffs and process-servers, cutting and maiming of persons and cattle, &c.

And if the Agitators can at all bring it about, there will be found to be even worse times in store for Ireland. While the editor of *United Ireland*, after private conferences with the American directors of the "Extremist" section, appeals to the Dublin populace to "give a good account"—strange phrase this, in view of the Phoenix Park murders—of the successor to Lord Fredk. Cavendish, M.P., and others, and "to go on as they have been going;" a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, speaking at the Dublin Meeting of the League, tells his hearers that the sparing of such men as landlords "strains to its utmost the teaching that we are not to murder an

individual," the sentiment being warmly applauded ; in addition to which a member of the Parliamentary party advises the people to pay no rent, but "be evicted with their rents in their pockets." With all these influences at work there is little of a moral tone being left in the people to whom such teaching is addressed, and the kindly traits of the Irish tenantry are fast becoming a tradition of the past. No later than a fortnight prior to the time this is written—on the 29th September in fact—the mother of a man named Michael Hill died in the King's County. Hill was unpopular, and "Boycotted" because of the fact of his working on an evicted farm—the man having no other means of supporting his dying mother. And what happened? He could not obtain in the town adjoining where his mother's corpse lay, a coffin to enclose her remains. Although he offered to pay in cash any reasonable sum demanded no undertaker would supply him, while, as a matter of fact, three of those to whom he applied, had, at the time of his application, the required article in stock. As a consequence the poor fellow was obliged to drive off during the night a distance of fourteen miles, to a place where he was quite unknown, in order to procure one. And this was all because he was Boycotted!

It may very fairly be asked, are people who act in this way past all redemption, and outside the power of their spiritual instructors? This question opens up a new aspect of the subject which is not a pleasant matter for contemplation. Ireland's population is very largely composed of Roman Catholics, and in the disturbed districts the great majority of the community are members of this faith. At the very outset of the agitation, the Roman Catholic priesthood bitterly opposed the movement ; while some of the oldest and most revered of the Church's prelates issued warning injunctions against the whole scope and tendency of it. But to little avail. Gradually the land became flooded with Communistic theories, and the freedom of thought, which at first only attached to questions of land, eventually extended to the matters of religion. And the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland grew to be a very critical one indeed. The place occupied by the old and honoured parish priests, allowed of their speaking their minds firmly and determinedly, against the commu-

nistic doctrines which were preached ; but the great mass of the younger curates scattered over the country, had other and more difficult influences to contend with. Recruited in a very large degree from the classes which sided against the law, and imbued themselves with some of the free theories of latter-day literature, they were driven by a combination of circumstances,—partly by inclination, and partly by necessity in order to retain their hold over the people,—to take a stand which is open to much question and serious comment. And the necessities of the position affected not the rank and file of the clergy alone, but subsequently branched upward in significant ways.

XII.

One other subject remains to be dealt with, and one alone. That is the financial aspect and characteristics of the Parnellite movement. For money has played no mean part in the workings of the past seven years. Indeed, as a financial speculation, the Parnellite type of Irish Patriotism has proved second to none. It will surprise many people, though it is, nevertheless, an undisputed fact, that from the starting of the Parnellite conspiracy to March last—when the last Return was made by a competent authority—the total subscriptions amounted to something like £670,000, or considerably over half-a-million of money. Very much more than the half of this came from the Extremists in America ; and so prominent have the American subscriptions figured in the acknowledgments of the Agitators, that the phrase “American Paymasters” has come to be pretty freely employed in speaking of those who really direct and control the movement. The greatest possible amount of scandal has attached to the financial matters of the League ; and although charges of misappropriation and embezzlement have been repeatedly made against some of those charged with administering its funds, no proper balance-sheet has been forthcoming. At the time when Patrick Egan, the treasurer-in-chief, fled the country, on being implicated in the Fenian part of the conspiracy

by the "Invincible" informer, Carey, it was a matter of notoriety that, although official acknowledgments in the daily press indicated the receipt by him of an enormous sum subscribed to that period, his statement of account showed a deficit of £3,658. os. 3*d.* on the Distress Fund; £8,461 on the Defence Fund; and £137,417 on the Land League Fund. These are typical instances, which have been multiplied long ere this. There is no use troubling the reader with further details, for what has been already said will have fully indicated the immense financial aid which has been, and in all probability will be, forthcoming to aid the "Separatist" policy; and the unscrupulous character of the men themselves who are carrying it out. Full details of the financial matters of the Parnellites will be found under Section VI., pages 109, 110, 111 of Appendix.

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SECTION I.

THE PROLOGUE TO THE CONSPIRACY.

THE CONFESSIONS OF MICHAEL DAVITT.

"When I was in prison I spent my time thinking of what plan could be proposed which would unite all Irishmen upon some one common ground. I saw that the movements for the independence of Ireland had failed for two reasons : first, that there never had been one in which the people were united ; second, because the movements had been wholly sentimental. I saw that for Irishmen to succeed they must be united, and that they must have a practical issue to put before Englishmen and the world at large. Sentiment cannot be relied upon to move neighbouring nations ; and when changes of great political importance, involving an alteration in the policy of a country like England—conservative and somewhat slow to move—are to be brought about, there must be something practical in the issue put forward. I saw all this, and I made up my mind that the only issue upon which Home Rulers, Nationalists, Obstructionists, and each and every shade of opinion existing in Ireland could be united was the land question.

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"I inquired, and found that the seasons of 1877 and 1878 had been poor, and that a famine was expected in 1879. All the farmers and cottiers were in debt to the landlords and shopkeepers. One day in Claremorris, Co. Mayo—it was in March, 1879,—I was in company with John W. Walsh, of Balla, who was a commercial traveller. He is now in Australia in the interests of the Land League. He knew the circumstances of every shopkeeper in the West of Ireland, their poverty and debt, and

the poverty of the people. He gave me a great deal of valuable information. I met some farmers from Irishtown, a village outside of Claremorris, and talked to them about the crops and the rent. Everywhere I heard the same story, and I at last made a proposition that a meeting be called in Irishtown to give expression to the grievances of the tenant-farmers, and to demand a reduction of the rent. *We were also to urge the abolition of landlordism.* I promised to have the speakers there, and they promised to get the audience. I wrote to Thomas Brennan, of Dublin, John Ferguson, of Glasgow, and *other Irishmen known for their adherence to Ireland's cause;* and I drew up the resolutions."

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"In this manner the agitation was carried on from its inception to August, 1879. Here I must give you a piece of 'secret history' in connection with the agitation. In August, 1879, two months before the National Land League was organised, seeing that some money was necessary, *I put myself in communication with Patrick Ford, of the Irish World; John Boyle O'Reilly, of the Boston Pilot; John Devoy, the late Patrick Mahon, of Rochester; and Dr. William Carroll, of Philadelphia.* I represented to them, as personal friends of mine and *representative-men in America, the importance of this agitation in Ireland.* What had been done up to that time had received very little attention in America *except in the Irish World and the Boston Pilot.* I told them the agitation had been carried on to that point at the personal expense of a few men, and that in order that it should be made a great movement it would be necessary to start an auxiliary movement in America, so as to allow those who had been driven out of Ireland by landlordism to co-operate with us in our efforts to drive landlordism out in turn. *The answer to these letters was from Patrick Ford. He enclosed a draft of £303. 8s., and intimated that the money was advanced to him by the trustees of the National Fund,* to be sent to me to aid me in carrying on the movement in Ireland, and to obviate the necessity of my coming to America to lecture in order to procure funds. He thought, *as the National Fund had been subscribed by victims of landlordism, no one would object to have some of the money used against landlordism in Ireland.* I wish to emphasise the fact that I had made no demand or request for any part of the National Fund, but that the money was sent in answer to my request for assistance in a lecturing tour."

[It is but fair to add that Davitt paid this money back out of the proceeds of lectures; but, of course, this does not affect the argument that money to start the agitation came out of the Fenian Treasury in the first instance.]

MICHAEL DAVITT, Interviewed.

[Extracts from a Letter from JOHN DEVON, of the Fenian Brotherhood,
to the EDITOR of the *Freeman's Journal*.]

"The question whether the advanced Irish National Party—*the party of separation*—should continue the policy of isolation from the public life of the country which was inaugurated some twenty years ago by James Stephens and his associates, or return to older methods—methods as old, at least, as the days of the United Irishmen—is agitating the minds of Irish Nationalists on both sides of the Atlantic just now, and certainly no small incident has aroused such wide discussion in Ireland for many a day as the publication of the views of the exiled Nationalists resident in New York on the subject. This shows conclusively the importance of the action proposed. All intelligent Irishmen feel that the entrance into the every-day political life of the country of a large class of men with *strong opinions* and habits of organisation, but who have hitherto held aloof from it or only acted on rare occasions when principle was considered at stake, would be an event that would largely influence the future of Ireland. England's difficulty is only Ireland's opportunity if Ireland knows how to use it."

"The object aimed at by the advanced National party—*the recovery of Ireland's National independence and the severance of all political connection with England*—is one that would require the utmost efforts and the greatest sacrifices on the part of the whole Irish people. Unless the whole Irish people, or the great majority of them, undertake the task and bend their whole energies to its accomplishment—unless the best intellect, the financial resources, and the physical strength of the nation be enlisted in the effort—it can never be realised. I have often said it before, and I repeat it now again, that a mere conspiracy will never free Ireland. *I am not arguing against conspiracy*, but only pointing out the necessity of Irish Nationalists taking whatever publication for the advancement of the National cause they may find within their reach—such action as will place the aims and objects of the National party in a more favourable light before the world, and help to win the support of the whole Irish people."

"Those who propose the new departure merely want to provide good wholesome work for the National party, which will have the effect of bringing all sections of Nationalists into closer relation by giving them a common ground to work upon, a platform really broad enough for all to stand upon, demanding no sacrifice of principle."

"I yield to no man living *in the lengths I am prepared to go to get rid of foreign domination in Ireland*, but I refuse to be guided by the narrow dogmatism through the instrumentality of which a few pigmies managed for a sad decade or so to retain a leadership for which neither nature nor training ever fitted them."

"The lack of political training and of practical acquaintance with public business—such even as could be acquired by membership of a town council—has always told heavily against the Nationalists; while their absence from such bodies left the whole country in the hands of the West Britons, who are only a miserable minority. The more this is examined the more ruinous this policy of isolation will appear, and the more advantages to be derived from an organised, steady and persistent effort to get possession of those local bodies will be seen."

"With the majority of these bodies in our possession, even without the Parliamentary representation, we should be in a position to do many things we can only dream of now. With the municipal bodies and men of spirit and determination as Parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race scattered over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or to obstruct, and Irish Nationalists would have no more Tallaghts or 'cabbage gardens' flung in their faces."

"No party or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people except it honestly proposes a radical reform of the land system. *No matter what may be said in favour of individual landlords*, the whole system was founded on robbery and fraud, and has been perpetrated by cruelty, injustice, extortion, and hatred of the people."

"Let a beginning be made with the absentees, the English lords and the London companies who hold stolen land in Ireland, and there will be enough of work for some years to come. But I shall be told the English Parliament will never do any of these things. Then, I say, these things must only wait till an Irish Parliament can do them better; *but in the meantime good work will have been done, sound principles inculcated, and the country aroused and organised.*"

"To those who are alarmed at language like this in regard to the Land Question I would say: 'Look at France, at Prussia, and at the mutterings of the coming storm *in England*, and ask yourselves what is going to become of the land monopoly after a few more years of commercial and manufacturing depression—a depression sure to continue, because the causes of it are on the increase.' The English are a very practical and a very selfish people, and will not let any fine sentiment stand in their way when they think it is their interest to redistribute the land. *What, may I ask, would become of the Irish landlords—especially the rack-renting, evicting ones—in case of a social convulsion in England?* It is a question which they themselves must decide within the next few years. With them or without them the question will be settled before long, and many who now think the foregoing assertions extravagant will consider them very moderate indeed, by-and-bye."—*New York, December 11th, 1878.*

SECTION II.

SPEECHES BY MR. CHARLES STEWART PARNELL, M.P.

ON THE POLICY OF OBSTRUCTION.

[At a "HOME RULE" MEETING in DUBLIN, February 5th, 1879.]

"I wish to explain in a few words what I wish the Irish party to do, and Mr. Butt to do. The late Mr. Rouyane it was who said to me, and said to a good many others, 'That the Irish party would never be a power in the House of Commons until they took in English and Imperial questions.' He used to say, 'Depend upon it, as long as you keep bringing forward the Land Bill, or the Franchise question, or other Irish questions, they won't care anything about you. They will perhaps listen, or perhaps they will not, but in any case they will come in with a big number of members to vote you down when the division bell rings, and they will be perfectly ready to surrender a few Wednesdays for these discussions. They will be nothing the worse of it, and you will be nothing the better; but depend on it, it is for some of you young men of the party, who have time and health and strength to go into these questions, to take up these Bills and discuss them in detail, and to show that if you are not allowed to govern yourselves at home, you can at least help them in governing England."

[At BELFAST, February 10th, 1879.]

"It is perfectly simple—give me any single Irish question, and it is a mere matter of detail to arrange and carry out the purpose of impressing the Government with the necessity of dealing with the Irish question."

[At CORK, October 4th, 1880.]

"Now we are a party occupying an independent position in the House of Commons, pledged to remain aloof from every English party who will not concede to Ireland the right to home government; pledged, in the words of Mr. Fred. Lucas, to be a separate element in the Legislature, and, if necessary, 'disorderly, disorganising, interfering with every business that may be transacted, as far as it is expedient or feasible.' (Cheers.) We can push the policy just as far as we like. We may never trench on it at all. We may let this weapon lie in its scabbard, as we did last session, but the weapon is there, you have it in your hand, and when all other resources have failed, it is as sharp and as potent and as powerful for a party of forty against the present Whig Ministry as it was for a party of seven against the last Tory Government. (Loud cheers.)"—*Irish Times' report.*

ON THE POLICY OF LOCAL CONTROL.

[At WATERFORD, December 6th, 1880.]

"I always like to take every opportunity of pressing on the attention of my fellow-countrymen the necessity of taking possession of all the local bodies in this country, beginning with the Corporations and ending with the Poor Law Boards. (Applause.) There is no reason why all these bodies should not be absolutely in the power and control and direction of the people. (Applause.) In a short while we hope to replace the present system of county government by irresponsible grand juries with one which will give full and complete representation to those who pay rates. We shall have in each Irish county a little Parliament—(hear, hear)—and it will be the duty of the Irish members to insure, when the question of county government comes before the House of Commons, that the people shall be properly and thoroughly represented on these boards, and that full power shall be given to the county boards to control all the affairs of the county."

ON THE SUBJECT OF MURDERS.

[At NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, January 6th, 1880.]

"I think these people murdered yesterday will help us forward now."

[At BROOKLYN, January 15th, 1880.]

“Mr. Gladstone, in one of his Midlothian addresses, said that it was not until a policeman had been shot at Manchester by a Fenian, and Clerkenwell Prison had been blown up, that the Irish Church question came within the domains of practical English politics. He admitted in that way that you have to act upon English public opinion in some extraordinary and unusual manner in order to obtain any attention for the Irish question. We are, therefore, obliged to make the situation a *very hot one* indeed. We desire to restrain this movement within the strict letter of the law, and we have strong hopes of passing over this winter without much bloodshed or suffering ; but it is impossible to suppose that the great cause can be won without shedding a drop of blood.”

[At NEW ROSS, 26th September, 1880.]

“I had wished, in referring to a sad occurrence which took place lately—the shooting, or attempted shooting, of a land agent in this neighbourhood—I had wished to point out *that recourse to such measures of procedure is entirely unnecessary, and absolutely prejudicial*, WHERE THERE IS A SUITABLE ORGANISATION AMONG THE TENANTS THEMSELVES.”

[At CLEVELAND, UNITED STATES.]

“I think you will say, ladies and gentlemen, that if you, or some of you that I see here, had been there, not one of these policemen would have returned home alive (loud applause, and cries of ‘give us a chance’). I say that the British Government that does these things, which brings on these conflicts between the people and the police, which sends the police to assist the landlord in collecting rack-rents—rack-rents which are put there, and cannot be paid,—I charge this Government with deliberately conspiring to murder the people of Ireland.”—*Nation*, February 14th, 1880.

[At CORK, October 3rd, 1880.]

“Recollect, when we hear such feeling and sentimentality about the suffering that has been inflicted by foolish or unreasonable people on the lower animals, and when we hear of the occasional result of appeal to the wild justice of revenge which has been made in one or two instances during the present year, I think I am bound to point out that if the lives of a few landlords have been taken, on the other side the lives of 25,000 of the people of this country have been taken.”

[Quotation used at State Trials.]

“What is responsible,” said Mr. Parnell, “who is responsible for the murders of landlords which have from time to time, at all times in our history, taken place in this country? It is admitted by everybody that English-made law is responsible; and I say that the people who are primarily responsible for the murder of Lord Mountmorres, if it was an agrarian crime—and of that I have very great doubt—are the House of Lords, who, by rejecting the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, took the arbitrament of this question from the courts of law, and placed it in the hands of the people.”—*Irish Times*, January 1st, 1881.

ON THE GENERAL LAND POLICY.

[At CLAREMORRIS, COUNTY MAYO, May 1st, 1880.]

“You to-day will remember the pledge you made twelve months since in these historic plains, that you will keep a firm grip on your holdings, that you will refuse to pay an unjust rent, that you will stand by this struggle until the land of the country has passed into the hands of the people of the country (cheers). If you do this to-day we can promise you victory. The Irish National League was then a struggling institution without funds. Our people were then starving. To-day the National League is known all over the world. Australia, America and Canada, are pouring money into our coffers to help us in your defence (cheers). They will give millions to break down this land system, but don't attempt to pay unjust rents in this coming summer, unless you wish us to appear again as beggars for you in all parts of the world (cheers). They are willing to send us money to help you in this fight, but think that you should do something for yourselves, that you should not wilfully plunge yourselves into poverty and famine by contriving to pay these rack-rents. (A voice, ‘We will not.’) And this is a reasonable position which they have taken up. The land of Ireland is amply sufficient to feed all her population, but if you persist in sending every ready penny you have, in selling all the food of the country to procure the ready penny, and in sending all your money out of the country to support landlords in luxury, you cannot in future expect the sympathies of the civilised world (cheers). I am sure that, warned by the teachings of the past, you will renew your determination to stand by your rights (cheers). It is impossible for the six hundred thousand tenant-farmers to be overwhelmed if they combine

together. It is impossible for even the tenant-farmers of a single county to be thrown out if they combine together. We will protect you in the courts by fighting points of law (cheers), and out of the courts by creating an irresistible public opinion against any landlord-exterminator who may venture to trespass on your rights; and if by chance in any place the landlord should get the upper hand of the tenant, we will see that better and happier homes are procured to take the place of those they have lost. But in order to do this you must take our advice and stand firmly, and give us notice when any of you are threatened with eviction or disturbance from his holding, and, above all things, you must form large organisations which will be able to investigate those cases, and to see how and in what direction the exertions of the Land League may be best applied.”—*Nation, May 8th, 1880.*

[At KILKENNY, October 3rd, 1880.]

“And if you organise yourselves in the county of Kilkenny, if you join the National Land League (cheers), and send us information as to the rents of the tenantry throughout this country, as soon as we get the information we will organise a strike against rent on the estate of every rack-renting landlord in Kilkenny (cheers). As soon as you form yourselves into branches of the Land League, and send us the rentals and the poor law valuation of every tenant-farmer in the county, we will select out of the number for you those holdings which are obviously paying a rack-rent, and we will come down and assist those tenants to strike against the payment of further rent to such landlords (cheers). But we wish you to do this in a methodical way: you must organise yourselves; you must collect the information and send it to us; and then we will select a certain number of landlords in this and every other county, and we will call upon the tenants on these estates to refuse to pay any more rent until those rents are permanently reduced (cheers); and we will stand by the tenantry in this struggle; we will help you with all the resources at our command; and there are millions of your countrymen and countrywomen in America who will help you also (cheers), who will send you money to keep up this struggle as long as you bear yourselves like men (cheers). And then when we have fought out these bad landlords, and have reduced them to their knees, and when we have settled the question without any Act of Parliament, as far as the bad landlords are concerned, we shall not find it any more difficult to reckon with the good landlords whom my friend Mr. Marum is so anxious about (loud cheers).”—*Nation, October 9th, 1880.*

[At CLARA, 20th February, 1881.]

"We may anticipate some evictions; we may suppose that the landlords, encouraged by coercion, will attempt to evict some of their tenants. I don't myself think that the evictions will be very numerous; but a practical piece of advice that I must give you would be this: that where the landlord persists in evicting any tenant, the tenant should call his neighbours in a few days before the eviction and plough up all the ground (cheers and laughter), and leave it with him in that condition; they will then not be able to turn in cattle upon the lands to graze your fields (cheers)."—*Nation, February 26th, 1881.*

ON THE DYNAMITE POLICY.

[At WEXFORD, October 9th, 1881.]

"Mr. Gladstone accuses me of not having repudiated what he calls the dynamite policy. Well, I am not aware that Mr. Shaw has repudiated that dynamite policy either. But I will tell you what Mr. Shaw did. Mr. Shaw did not repudiate the dynamite policy any more than I did, but I will tell you what he said eighteen months ago. He said that his blood boiled whenever he saw a process-server—(laughter)—and that he never saw one without feeling inclined to take the lynch-pin out of his cart. (Renewed laughter.) That speech of Mr. Shaw's was a clearer incitement to an act of violence than anything ever said by any of the men that are in any of the jails throughout the country. . . . Mr. Shaw has not the courage to meet the process-server openly, as many of the men and women of Ireland have done."—*Freeman's Journal, October 10th, 1881.*

ON THE HOLLOWNESS OF THE LAND ACT OF 1881.

[At DUBLIN, September 17th, 1881.]

"To COLLINS, President Land League, Boston.

The Convention has just closed, after three days' session. Resolutions were adopted for National self-government, the unconditional liberation of the land for the people, *tenants not to use the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act*, and follow old Land League lines, and rely upon the old methods to reach justice. The executive of the League is empowered to select test cases, *in order that tenants in surrounding districts may realise, by the result of cases decided, the hollowness of the Act.*

(Signed) PARNELL."

THE INITIATION OF BOYCOTTING.

[At ENNIS, September 18th, 1880.]

“When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him—you will find what the meaning of the word ‘show’ is afterwards—on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets or the town, you must show him at the shop counter—(a voice, ‘Shun him!’)—no, the word was not ‘shun,’ but ‘show’—in the fair, and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship. Leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he were a leper of old; you must show him that that is your detestation of the crime he has committed; and you may depend upon it, that if the population of an entire county in Ireland carry out this doctrine, there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinions of all right-thinking men within the country, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws.”

ON REBELLION AS A MEANS OF OBTAINING SEPARATION.

[At LIVERPOOL, November 30th, 1879.]

“There was nothing he (Lord Beaconsfield) would like better than that the Irish people should take the law into their own hands, as he had taken it into his—that they should trample upon it, tear it in pieces, and get into conflict with his police and military. . . . However, they intended to allow him to be disappointed upon that occasion. The people of Ireland would not choose his time and his opportunity—they would choose their own time and their own methods. . . . Deprive them (the landlords) of the position of an English garrison in Ireland, and then the last knell of English power and Government in Ireland would have been sounded. In conclusion, he said:—Let me see all classes, all creeds of my countrymen united together, and, believe me, we will not then have any English ministry attempting to indict our countrymen for sedition and treason. Let us see, as in 1782, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND SWORDS, BOTH CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, LEAPING FROM THEIR SCABBARDS, AND BELIEVE ME, FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN, IT WILL NOT BE A QUESTION OF CHICANERY OR OF ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, OR OF ANYTHING THAT CAN POSSIBLY INTERFERE BETWEEN

THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE TO MAKE THEIR OWN LAWS ON THE SOIL OF IRELAND. . . . He believed the time would come when those thousands, of whom Mr. Killen spoke, would awaken from their slumbers and HERALD THE IRISH NATION IN ITS FUTURE PATH OF LIBERTY AND GREATNESS."

[At BALLA, December, 1879.]

"There are men in this land movement who consider that the free rights of Ireland must be won by the bloody battle fight and the sword."

[At CLEVELAND, UNITED STATES, January, 1880.]

"It has given me great pleasure during my visit to the cities of this country to see the armed regiments of Ireland who have frequently turned out to escort us, and when I saw some of these gallant men to-day, who are even now in this hall, I thought that each one of them must wish with Sarsfield of old, when dying upon a foreign battlefield, 'Oh, that I could carry these arms for Ireland.'"

[At DUBLIN, on April 29th, 1880, on his return from America.]

"I have worked hard to do my duty for this country, and I shall endeavour to work for it as long as I live. And now, before I go I will tell you an incident that happened in America. A gentleman came to the platform and handed me 25 dollars, saying, 'HERE ARE 5 DOLLARS FOR BREAD AND 20 DOLLARS FOR LEAD.' (Mr. Boyton, a Land League organiser, subsequently referred to this anecdote at a Land League Meeting, assuring his audience that those 20 dollars were perfectly safe, and added that, as 'Mr. Forster in the House of Commons refused to say what he did with the £30,000 spent as secret service money, so they would refuse to say what they were going to do with the 20 dollars.'"

[At GALWAY, October 25th, 1880.]

"Well, we sailed for New York, and it was only on my entry to New York that I first commenced to appreciate the undeveloped power that is available for your succour, not only in the matter of charity, but in other matters of a very different nature, if you call upon them. (Loud cheers.) Well, I pass from this subject of our countrymen abroad with this remark: that I feel confident that if you ever call upon them in another field, and in another way, for help, and if you can show them that there is a fair and

good chance of success—(enthusiastic cheering)—that you will have their assistance—their trained and organised assistance—for the purpose of breaking the yoke that encircles you, just in the same way as you had their assistance last winter to save you from famine.” (Cheers.)—*Irish Times*.

[At ROCHESTER, U.S.A.]

“We have proposed a constitutional and peaceful plan of solution. As an Irishman, I am bound to say that every Irishman should be prepared to shed the last drop of his blood in order to obtain such a solution. Yet, at the same time, it would be criminal to hurl the unarmed and defenceless people on the points of British bayonets in a hopeless struggle. In order to make you acquainted with what is being done in the nineteenth century by the authority of the Queen of England, I cannot do better than to call a witness who will not be accused of prejudice. I refer to the *New York Herald* (hisses), which has taken the landlords side of the question, which is a very much harder task than the discovery of Livingstone. ‘The best punishment for the *New York Herald*, when it goes to the lower regions, would be to send the Irish Land System and the British Government with it.’”

[At LIMERICK, November 2nd, 1880.]

“If we, after a reasonable time, and after having been enabled to use those methods which we may desire, and which we deem essential and necessary for the purpose—if we fail by Parliamentary action in Westminster in obtaining the restoration of our Irish Parliament, I should consider it my duty to return to my countrymen to consult with them as to the action which we ought to take, and to decide whether the representatives of Ireland ought any longer to continue parties to the sham of Parliamentary government, so far as Ireland is concerned, which takes place in Westminster, and if the decision of the country was that we ought no longer to continue on these lines, it would be the duty of the people of Ireland to direct us as to what lines or method should be adopted under the circumstances.”

[At WATERFORD, December 6th, 1880.]

“We stand to-day in the same position that our ancestors stood. We declare that IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY IRISHMAN TO FREE HIS COUNTRY IF HE CAN. We refuse to inflict needless suffering on the masses of our people. We will work by constitutional means AS LONG AS

IT SUITS US. We refuse to plunge this country into the horrors of civil war when she has not a chance; but I ask any man at this board, I ask any true Irishman, be he priest or be he layman, whether he would not consider it the first duty of an Irishman to do what he could to enable his country to take her place amongst the nations of the world. If it could be shown to him that THERE WAS A FAIR PROSPECT OF SUCCESS FROM THE SACRIFICE, I ask my reverend and lay friends whether they would not consider it their highest duty to give their lives for the country that gave them birth."

ON SEPARATION AS THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF THE CONSPIRACY.

[At PITTSBURGH, U.S.A., February 16th, 1880.]

"I promise on our side to fight this battle as pluckily as you can wish. (Loud applause.) Up to this time the landlords and Government have failed to give assistance, but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued, *but from the blood of the brave Connemara women who resisted the home destroyers shall spring up a power which will sweep away, not only the land system, but the infamous Government that maintains it.*" (Cheers.)

[At CINCINNATI, U.S.A., February 23rd, 1880.]

"Justice and the many, against injustice and the few, must win. (Applause.) With your help in keeping our people alive this winter I feel confident we shall kill the Irish landlord system. (Applause.) And when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. (Applause.) And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. *None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.*" (Applause.)

[At CORK, March 22nd, 1880.]

Replying to Nationalists' address on his return from America, he said that their refusal to take any part in the elections, he was sure, was determined upon after due consideration, and he added that: "In America

BOTH YOUNG AND OLD WERE DETERMINED TO UPHOLD THE CAUSE THEY UPHELD IN IRELAND—THE RIGHT TO TAKE HER PLACE AMONGST THE NATIONS.” In another speech on the same occasion, he said : “The time was not far distant when their countrymen in every part of the civilised world would be all united with them as one man in helping Ireland to SPRING TO HER FEET AND STRIKE OFF THE DETESTABLE YOKE OF IRISH LANDLORDISM. And when they had shattered this infamous system, the time would not be far distant when Ireland would gain the greater right—the right of Self-Government—THE RIGHT OF NATIONHOOD. . . . If we succeed in emigrating the Irish landlords the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT WILL SOON HAVE TO FOLLOW THEM.”

[At BEAUFORT, CO. KERRY, May 16th, 1880.]

“We will see that the people will not be swept from the country while there is money to defend them in the courts of law. The National Land League has plenty of money at its disposal for the purpose of defending the tenantry of Ireland. Your fellow-countrymen in America will send you as much money as you want. Everywhere throughout the States I found the greatest anxiety to help you. Do not, then, be afraid ; band yourselves together ; organise yourselves—(cheers)—against the landlord system ; and, believe me, the day is dawning when we shall have taken the first great step to strike down British misrule, and the noble dreams of Grattan, Emmet, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and of every Irish patriot, ought at all times to be brought to a triumph and realisation.” (Cheers.)

[At ENNIS, September 20th, 1880.]

“We have been accused of preaching communistic doctrines when we told the people not to pay an unjust rent, and the following out of that advice in a few of the Irish counties had shown the English Government the necessity for a radical alteration in the Land Laws. But how would they like it if we told the people some day or other not to pay any rent until this question is settled ? We have not told them that yet. I suppose the question will be settled peaceably, fairly, and justly to all parties. If it should not be settled, we cannot continue to allow this millstone to hang round the neck of our country, throttling its industry, and preventing its progress. It will be for the consideration of wiser heads than mine, whether, if the landlords continue obdurate, and refuse all just concessions, we shall not be obliged to tell the people of Ireland to strike against rent until this question has been settled. And if the 500,000 tenant-farmers of Ireland struck against the 10,000 landlords, I should like to see where they would GET POLICE AND SOLDIERS ENOUGH TO MAKE THEM PAY.”

[At GALWAY, October 1st, 1880.]

“I expressed my belief at the beginning of last Session that the present Chief Secretary, who was then all smiles and promises, would not have proceeded very far in the duties of his office before he would have found that he had undertaken an impossible task—to govern Ireland,—and that the only way to govern Ireland is to allow her to govern herself. (Cheers.) And if they prosecute the leader in this movement, it will not be because they wish to preserve the lives of one or two landlords—much the English Government care about the lives of one or two landlords— [‘Nor we: away with them all’]—but it will be BECAUSE THEY SEE THAT BEHIND THIS MOVEMENT THERE IS A MORE DANGEROUS MOVEMENT, TO HAVE A HOLD OVER IRELAND; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism here, and they will fail, they have no chance of maintaining it in Ireland, BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT IF THEY FAIL IN UPHOLDING LANDLORDISM IN IRELAND THEIR POWER TO MISRULE IRELAND WILL GO TOO. I wish to see the tenant-farmers prosperous; but, large and important as is the class of tenant-farmers, constituting, as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, I WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN OFF MY COAT AND GONE TO THIS WORK IF I HAD NOT KNOWN THAT WE WERE LAYING THE FOUNDATION IN THIS MOVEMENT FOR THE REGENERATION OF OUR LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE. (Cheers.) Push on, then, towards this goal, extend your organisation, and let every tenant-farmer, while he keeps a firm grip of his holding, recognise also the great truth that he is serving his country and the people at large, and helping to break down English misrule in Ireland.”

[At CORK, October 3rd, 1880.]

“It is time for the Irish landlords to come forward and to make their propositions. We have made ours, and determined to do our very utmost to make Ireland great, glorious, prosperous and free—to take the power of governing Ireland out of the hands of the English Parliament and people, and to transfer it into the hands of our own people. Determined as we are to achieve these ends, we believe that we can only achieve them by making the land of Ireland as free as it was when the waters of the Flood left it.”

[At TIPPERARY, October 31st, 1880.]

“Put your shoulder to the wheel. Never mind those threatened prosecutions. As long as we are governed from England every agitation is

bound to be misrepresented and misunderstood; every politician who comes down and really directs the people the way they ought to go, who really makes a successful movement against an unjust law, must expect to take his place in the dock. That has been the history at all times of constitutional agitation, and the story is just as old as the hills. Irish agitation has always been, and always will be prosecuted till we get our own Parliament again (loud cheers); and when we have our own Legislature restored to us—when we have to depend, not on the public opinion of the people of England for reform, but on the public opinion and knowledge of their own affairs of the people of Ireland, we will have a natural system of government in the country, and a natural system of land tenure.”

[At DUBLIN, September 26th, 1881.]

“Believe me, the spirit that is alive in Ireland to-day, a spirit which is exhibited by the silent martyrs in Kilmainham and other jails; a spirit which is exhibited by Michael Davitt far off in Portland Prison, willing to suffer five more long years of penal servitude, provided that you on your side do your part and your duty; a spirit which is shown in every quarter and in every corner of Ireland. That spirit, fellow countrymen, will never die until it destroys the ALIEN RULE WHICH HAS KEPT OUR COUNTRY IMPOVERISHED AND IN CHAINS, AND SWEEPS THAT DETESTABLE RULE, WITH ITS BUCKSHOT AND ITS BAYONET, FAR AWAY OVER THE CHANNEL, WHENCE IT CAN NEVER RETURN.”

[At CORK, October 6th, 1881.]

“This struggle is simply a renewal of the old fight which has lasted so long. You were never nearer winning it than you are to-day. You never had such an opportunity of victory as you have to-day. You were driven out of Ireland by your English conquerors. WHERE ARE THEY NOW? THEY DID NOT THRIVE IN IRELAND. They stole the land of Ireland, but they did not gain the affections of the Irish people. And we have now a demand from the much-persecuted, the decimated Irish nation, for the restoration of their land, and after that for the RESTORATION OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.”

[At WEXFORD, October 10th, 1881.]

“He (Mr. Gladstone) would have you to believe that he is not afraid

of you, because he has disarmed you, because he has attempted to disorganise you, because he knows that the Irish nation is to-day disarmed as far as physical weapons go, but he does not hold this kind of language with the Boers. What did he do at the commencement of the session? He said something of this kind with regard to the Boers. He said that he was going to put them down, and as soon as he had discovered that they were able to shoot straighter than his own soldiers, he allowed those few men to put him and his Government down; and although he has attempted to regain some of his lost position in the Transvaal by subsequent chicanery and diplomatic negotiations, yet that sturdy and small people in the distant Transvaal have seen through William Ewart Gladstone; and they have told him again for the second time that they will not have their liberties filched from them; and I believe, that as a result, we shall see that William Ewart Gladstone will again yield to the people of the Transvaal. And I trust that as the result of this great movement we shall see that, just as Mr. Gladstone, by the Act of 1881, has eaten all his old words, has departed from all his formerly declared principles, now we shall see that these brave words of this English Prime Minister will be scattered as CHAFF BEFORE THE UNITED AND ADVANCING DETERMINATION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE TO REGAIN FOR THEMSELVES THEIR LOST LAND AND THEIR LOST LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE."

[At CORK, December 18th, 1882.]

"Both the English parties know well that the next general election in England will be turned by the votes of the Irish electors living in England. . . . They tell us that no English ministry and no Liberal member must ever entertain for a moment the idea of National self-government for Ireland. I believe that the time is rapidly approaching when they will have to entertain that idea, or SOME OTHER IDEA THAT THEY MAY NOT LIKE SO WELL." (Applause.)

[At the NATIONAL LEAGUE in DUBLIN, August 29th, 1883.]

"I believe that the day is not very distant that not many years will go by before we shall have gained the full programme for which the Irish National League was formed. It is now no longer a question with the great body of Englishmen as to whether the Irish shall have self-government; but as to the amount of self-government they will be willing to accept." (Applause.) *Irish Times, August 30th, 1883.*

[At the ROTUNDA, DUBLIN, upon receiving Testimonial, £40,000,
December 13th, 1883.]

“Until the English Liberals and Radicals learn the first lesson of the political creed that every nation, every country, has a right to be governed according to the will of the majority of that country, they will fail, as they have always failed, in their self-imposed task of governing the Irish people. . . . Beyond a shadow of a doubt it will be for the Irish people in England, poorly as they are supported, and isolated as they are, and for your independent members, to determine at the next general election whether Tory or Liberal Ministers shall rule England. This is a great force and a great power; if we may not rule ourselves, we can at least cause them to be ruled as we choose. This force has already gained for Ireland inclusion in the coming Franchise Bill, and we have reason to be proud, hopeful and energetic; determined that this generation shall not pass away until it has bequeathed to THOSE WHO COME AFTER US THE GREAT BIRTHRIGHT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY.”

[At the REDMOND BANQUET, April 6th, 1884.]

“With the added numbers that the general election will bring, with the increased weight that union has added to our forces, and with the determined energy which I anticipate all the provinces will bring to bear at the general election, I anticipate that the result will be of the utmost importance in the triumphal solution of the Irish question; and we shall find, when we will be able to speak with the voice of a United Ireland, and with the majority of its representatives from every province as members of our party, that not MANY DAYS will elapse before we shall be able to obtain THE FULLEST MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT THAT HAS ENTERED INTO THE IDEAS OF REASONABLE IRISHMEN.”

[At DROGHEDA, April 15th, 1884.]

“I said in New York, in 1879, when I landed there, what I say to you to-night, that you must either pay for the land or fight for it. . . . Constitutional agitation and organisation can do a great deal to whittle down the price that the landlord asks for his land, but it must be paid for unless you adopt the other alternative, WHICH I SAY NOTHING ABOUT. . . . In my judgment, the Irish land question, if it is to be settled by Constitutional means, will have to be settled before the National question can be settled by Constitutional means. I do not express any opinion as to whether either of these questions is likely to be, or can be,

settled by Constitutional means, but my proposition is this—that the Irish land question must be settled BEFORE the National question if Constitutional measures are adopted. . . . The landlords of Ireland will have to be got rid of before we can hope to unite North and South, Catholic and Protestant, in such a way as to present our demands for National self-government, in an overwhelming fashion, in the English Parliament. . . . And we have proceeded upon that assumption. Now, sir, I don't mean to say that the price of land has touched bottom as yet in Ireland, or anything like it, but I do ask the people of Ireland, as rational beings, not to be turned aside from the idea that they have followed, and followed successfully for the years of the Land League agitation, not to be turned aside to the pursuit of a will o' the wisp (*i.e.*, Davitt's Nationalisation of the land scheme), which is an impossibility, and which may lead to serious disunion, and which undoubtedly will postpone the settlement of the land question, and make the heart grow sick regarding the probability of the restoration of an Irish Parliament."

[At MR. SEXTON'S RECEPTION on his return from the UNITED STATES.
September 9th, 1884.]

"He (Mr. Sexton) has learned something during his short absence. He has learned to appreciate the enormous power, for the benefit of Ireland, which our countrymen in America are able and willing to wield ; and he is in a better position now than he was a short time since, to estimate what are the chances, the overwhelming chances, in FAVOUR OF IRELAND'S FREEDOM. He will return to his task amongst us with renewed hope, and confidence, and belief in his country's future, with greater determination to trample down and overcome all obstacles till our hopes are realised, TILL WE HAVE BANISHED FOREIGN MISRULE ; and until that day comes—and we believe it will not be a distant one—when our Irish Parliament will re-assemble in College Green, and be able and willing to mete out just laws to our people, and to maintain the DIGNITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATION AT HOME AND ABROAD."

[At CLONMEL, January 9th, 1885.]

"We claim for Ireland and for the masses of the people the restitution of her Parliament, her independent Parliament, of which she was cheated and deprived towards the close of last century. That Parliament, in deed as well as in name, was an independent one. It had a right to grant supplies for Imperial purposes as well as for Irish purposes. And if it

had been composed of men of sincerity, men who were elected by the people of Ireland, instead of men elected by a very small class, undoubtedly it would have preserved the Nationality of the country, and strengthened its own Constitutional powers ; and we should have in existence to-day an assembly of which we would have been proud, and which would have been the crowning of that happiness, peace, and prosperity of Ireland, without the necessity of agitation, or for movements such as that of the Irish Land League. But local self-government is one which we could not leave to be developed even under an Irish Parliament. If we had an Irish Parliament to-morrow, and we can never claim anything less—we can never claim, and do not intend to CLAIM, ANYTHING LESS THAN THE PARLIAMENT OF GRATTAN—if we had such an assembly it would be necessary for us, under its directing care and guidance, to develop our institutions of local self-government.”

[At CORK. January 21st, 1885.]

“When the reckoning up came after the general election they in Ireland would have cause to congratulate themselves on the possession of a strong party. It would bear down all oppositions, and, aided by the organisation of the country behind, they would be enabled to gain for their country those rights which were stolen from her. . . . Every Irishman should be forcibly driven back to the question of National self-government for Ireland. He did not know how this question would eventually be settled. He did not know whether England would be wise in time, and concede to arguments the restitution of what was stolen from them towards the close of last century. It was given to none of them to know the future. They could not ask for less than the restitution of Grattan’s Parliament. They could scarcely, under the Constitution, ask for more. BUT NO MAN HAD THE RIGHT TO FIX THE BOUNDARY TO THE MARCH OF A NATION ; and while they struggled to-day for that which it may seem possible for them to obtain, they might struggle for it with the proud consciousness that they were doing nothing to HINDER OR PREVENT BETTER MEN WHO MAY COME FORWARD IN THE FUTURE FROM GAINING BETTER THINGS THAN THOSE FOR WHICH THEY WERE NOW STRUGGLING.”

[At CORK, January 23rd, 1885.]

“We are now in a position of more unconquerable force than ever to win back our lost rights. We stand on unapproachable ground. We are entitled to ask that that which has been stolen from us, by means which

nobody now seeks to defend for a moment, shall be restored to us. We might, perhaps, be unwise if we went farther than that demand. We should be certainly very foolish if we asked for anything less. . . .

I BELIEVE THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE WE SHALL WIN OUR BATTLE. When we have a united representation from Ireland amounting to 85 members, it will be impossible for any people, for any Parliament, even so haughty and intolerant an assembly and people as the English Parliament and people, long to withstand our claims. We have great helps ; we have a race greater than our own across the Atlantic. We have a growing and influential population in Australia. We have large contingents in England and Scotland. With all these aids and all these helps, surveying our position, I KNOW THAT ENGLAND HAS ALREADY IN HER OWN HEART GIVEN UP THE CONTEST, and that it only remains for you to be as determined and as true as your brothers and sisters in every part of the world to enable us and you to gain THAT RESTITUTION WHICH IS OUR RIGHT, AND LESS THAN WHICH WE WILL NEVER ACCEPT."

[At MILTOWN MALBAY, January 25th, 1885.]

"During many centuries they had baffled the attempts of the English enemy to drive them from the soil of sacred Ireland. He believed it was for them to set the example to the Irish people, to nobly stand shoulder to shoulder, and march from west to east, to recover inch by inch, slowly but surely, EVERY ROOD OF LAND WHICH HAD BEEN ROBBED FROM THEM."

[At LONDON, March 17th, 1885.]

"I do not pretend to predict in what way the rights for Ireland will be ultimately gained, but a man in my position ought to consider that in anything he does, and in anything that he says, he ought not to hamper the people in their march for their liberties - he ought not to prevent them from obtaining the utmost and the FULLEST MEASURE OF THEIR RIGHTS WHICH MAY HEREAFTER BECOME POSSIBLE. We can none of us do more than strive for that which may seem attainable to-day ; but we ought, at the same time, to recollect that we should not IMPEDE OR HAMPER THE MARCH OF OUR NATION ; that though our programme may be limited and small, it should be such a one as shall not prevent hereafter the FULLEST REALISATION OF THE HOPES OF IRELAND."

[At LONDON, July 20th, 1885, Dinner to GENERAL COLLINS.]

“Our guest may have been and may be more advanced than us in Irish politics—I speak without knowledge on such points—but he thinks with me that it is for those at home, for the man who is riding the horse, to judge whether the fence shall be rushed or taken slowly ; and being to some extent myself in the position of jockey, I desire to give my own opinion to-night that the situation in Ireland, just at present at all events, demands cautious riding. Our movement this winter should be one distinguished by its judgment, its prudence, and its moderation. . . . I consider that those counsellors will be the best and wisest who will, during the next few months, urge upon our people at home the exercise of great caution and prudence in their actions, lest, unhappily, they should mar what would otherwise most undoubtedly be the SPEEDY FRUITION OF OUR HOPES AS A NATION, AND THE SPEEDY CONQUEST OF THOSE RIGHTS IN THE LAND OF IRELAND WHICH WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR AND STRUGGLED FOR DURING SO MANY YEARS.”

[At ARKLOW, August 20th, 1885.]

“Without a Parliament with powers for Ireland we can do nothing to revive her industries. Without a freely elected National Assembly, with power to control all the affairs of Ireland, and with power to protect her industries, I give it as my opinion, as a practical man, that it is impossible for us to revive our native industries. . . . If those who now for the first time receive the right to vote will carefully undertake the sacred duty of choosing the band of men to represent them, I firmly believe, in, perhaps, a few months, certainly not longer than a few years, we will bring back to you, to your soil and to the people of Ireland, THE RIGHT TO GOVERN IRELAND AT HOME, AND TO BANISH ENGLISH MISRULE FOR EVER.”

[At DUBLIN, August 25th, 1885.]

“I hope it may be possible for us in the New Parliament to have a programme and a platform with only one plank, and that one the plank of National independence. I feel convinced that our great work and our sole work in the New Parliament will be the restoration of our own Parliament. And when we have obtained it, what will be its functions and what will be its powers? We shall require our New Parliament to do for us these things which we have been asking the British Parliament to do for us. . . . We have therefore a great work before us, both in the English House of Commons, for a while, and also in the Irish

Chamber. I hope it will be a single chamber, and that we shall not have a House of Lords to cumber us. . . . It is upon our people at home that the main burden rests. It is they, and they alone, who can now defeat the Irish cause. If they maintain the fixity of purpose and the union of the last five years, no power on earth can resist them. . . . I FEEL ASSURED THAT THE NEXT IRISH PARTY THAT WILL ASSEMBLE SHALL BE THE LAST IN THE ENGLISH AND THE FIRST IN THE RESTORED IRISH PARLIAMENT."

[At DUBLIN, August 26th, 1885.]

"I believe that we will get a settlement of our National question from whichever Government or whichever party may be in power, whether it be Whig or whether it be Tory. We are, therefore, in the position, that no matter which of the English sides wins or loses we are bound to win. . . . I desire nothing more than to place in the power of Irishmen, and of the people of Ireland, the right to govern themselves and to manage their own affairs. When we have restored to us our own Parliament it will be possible for you to discuss and thresh out every question. Every man of different ideas will then have a stage on which he will be able to exemplify and enlarge his views, but for the present solidity is necessary in our ranks. Our desire is to restore to you the power of making of laws for yourself, and working out your own destiny. When you have got that power I believe you will use it rightly and bravely, and THAT THE IRISH NATION WILL PROSPER AND BE PERPETUAL."

[At DUBLIN MANSION HOUSE, September 1st, 1885.]

"We are told upon high authority that it is impossible for Ireland to obtain the right of self-government. I believe that if it be sought to make it impossible for our country to obtain the right of administering her own affairs, that we will make all other things impossible for those who so seek. . . . There shall be no legislation for England. There is to be a kind of lion lying down with the lamb. There is to be absolute union between all English parties upon great and important home and Imperial questions, which will always engross their minds until they have squelched us out. Well, I give you my candid opinion upon this matter, and it is this—that if they have not succeeded in squelching us during the last five years, they are not likely to do it during the next five, unless they brace themselves up to adopt one of two alternatives, under the adoption of either one of which we should ultimately win, and perhaps win a greater share than we otherwise should. They will either have to grant to Ireland the complete right to rule herself, or they will

have to govern us as a Crown Colony, without any Parliamentary representation whatever. The Government of Ireland as a Crown Colony would simply lead to the concession of a Constitution similar to that which is enjoyed, with the good will of England, by each and all of the larger Colonies ; and that is practically what we have been asking for Ireland. So that whether they choose to give us directly the right of self-government in its fullest sense—the right of National self-government—or whether they choose to govern us as a Crown Colony, it will come to the same thing in the long run.”

[At WICKLOW, October 5th, 1885.]

“ I have claimed for Ireland a Parliament that shall have power to protect Irish manufactures if it be the will of the Parliament and of the Irish people that they should be protected. But it is not for me to say beforehand what the action of such a freely elected Irish assembly should be. I may have my own opinion as to the best course for that assembly to take, but I have claimed that no Parliamentary assembly will work satisfactorily which has not free power over Irish affairs ; which has not power to raise a revenue for the purpose of government in Ireland as shall seem fit and best to that assembly. . . . I claim this for Ireland, that if the Irish Parliament of the future considers that there are certain industries in Ireland which could be benefited by Protection, which could be nursed by Protection, and which could be placed in such a position as to enable them to compete with similar industries in other countries by a course of Protection extending over a few years, the Parliament ought to have power to carry out that policy. . . . My advice to English statesmen on this question (of guarantees against Separation) is TO TRUST THE IRISH PEOPLE ALTOGETHER OR TRUST THEM NOT AT ALL. Give our people this power to legislate upon all their domestic concerns, and you may depend upon one thing : that the desire for Separation, the means of winning Separation at least, will not be increased or intensified. . . . IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO GIVE GUARANTEES, but we can point to the past : we can show that the record of English rule is a constant series of steps from bad to worse. . . . I am convinced that the English statesman who is great enough to induce his countrymen to give Ireland full legislative liberty will be regarded as one who has removed the greatest peril to the British Empire—a peril that sooner or later, it may be sooner than later, will certainly find an opportunity of revenging itself by THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOR THE MISFORTUNES, THE OPPRESSIONS, AND THE MISGOVERNMENT OF OUR COUNTRY.”

[At CASTLEBAR, November 3rd, 1885.]

“Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people, and for all my colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept either expressly or implied, anything but *the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, and to make our land a nation; to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own cause among the peoples of the world.*”—*United Ireland Report.*

[Interviewed by the *New York Herald* Correspondent,
November 7th, 1885.]

“I believe I can speak for all my colleagues, as well as for all the leaders of the present movement in Ireland, when I say that none of us would assume any responsibility, or take any part in the working of the maimed and ineffective central body by which he (Lord Hartington) proposes, under the name of Local Government, to meet our demand for an Irish Parliament. For example, what Irishman of influence or importance would undertake any responsibility in a Local Legislation WITHOUT HAVING THE CONTROL OF THE POLICE FORCE?”

[At BANQUET to JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P., LONDON,
September 8th, 1886.]

“The question between England and Ireland is a simple one. It lies in the recognition of Irish Nationality—the right of Ireland to be a nation. . . . In these days when we hear of a Bulgarian nation why should we not also hear of an Irish nation? The Bulgarian nation has undoubtedly justified its right to be free, but its justification is of recent growth; it has not the ancient title, the sufferings, the struggles, and the exertions that the Irish nation has, and yet the right of Bulgaria to nationhood has been guaranteed by four of the great European powers. Why, then, is the right of Ireland to be denied?”

SECTION III.

GENERAL PARNELLITE UTTERANCES.

 INCITEMENTS TO MURDER.

BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, ORGANISERS, &c.

[Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., at DALKEITH, Nov. 26th, 1879.]

“Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. . . . When it came to this—that a great gaol in the heart of the Metropolis was broken open under circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester policemen were murdered in the execution of their duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions, and the question of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics.”

[MR. JOSEPH BIGGAR, M.P., at CORK, March 21st, 1880.]

“They had seen what Hartman had done in Russia, and if the Constitutional course they were pursuing in Parliament at present failed in its object, he thought Ireland might be able to produce another Hartman, and probably with better results.”

[MR. BIGGAR, M.P., at CASTLEISLAND, October 10th, 1880.]

“There is another question which has been raised very much. The Land League are unfairly charged with the shooting of landlords. *It is*

no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords for a great variety of reasons. They never have given any advice of the sort, Mr. Hussey (a land agent) may be a very bad man, and plenty of other men are as bad as Mr. Hussey, but I can tell you what the Land League can do. Well, you, the members of the local Land League, can use your exertions to get everything in favour of the person who is charged with such a crime as shooting a landlord."

[Mr. BIGGAR, M.P., at KINLOUGH, October 31st, 1880.]

"It is your duty and it is your interest to give your assistance in such a manner as you can easily do—in *certain ways*—which manner I will now point out to you. We do not recommend shooting landlords. *That is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it;* and, besides, it is held undesirable, for the interest of the cause, that it should be done, *for this reason, that when such a thing takes place it is blazoned forth in all the English newspapers, and prejudice is excited in the English mind against the Irish tenant-farmers, which is calculated to interfere to a material extent with the advocacy of my friend, Mr. Parnell, and others, on behalf of the tenant-farmers."*

[Mr. BIGGAR, M.P., at BAILIEBORO', October 31st, 1880.]

"Now, our worthy chairman in his speech said, that it was undesirable that anything in the way of violence towards the landlords should be perpetrated. Now, on that subject I will say this—that the Land League as a body wants to do what is most beneficial, and they do not want that any violence should be offered to the landlords. Now, *one of the reasons is this—that persons who have undertaken to shoot landlords have missed landlords and shot someone whom they did not intend.* Now, that is one objection which is palpable on the face of it. But there are other objections which have been raised against this agitation as a body—that deeds of violence have been committed on the part of the people who come to Land League meetings; and the result of that has been that it is calculated to injure the cause of the tenant-farmers of Ireland in public opinion with those likely to have the decision of the Irish land tenure. And you should discourage deeds of violence *then.* Then there is another objection, which will undoubtedly be palpable to you all. If acting violently to any class of people became the general thing the result would be that deeds of violence would become general, and then bring discredit on the Irish people. *These are reasons that are sure to be felt."*

[MESSRS. EGAN, Treasurer, and BRENNAN, Secretary of Parnellite League.]

“Patrick Egan and Thomas Brennan encouraged crime to a certain extent.” To what extent? “Before the Political Prisoners were released the Government would not let them out, and they urged that the only way to get them out was to use violence on the Government officials—that talk would never get them out.”—*Patrick Delaney’s (approver) evidence at Sligo, May, 1884.*

[THOMAS BRENNAN, Secretary of Parnellite League, at CARDENSTOWN, May 23rd, 1880.]

“We had a good deal lately about giving to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar. Most readily and heartily do we accept that doctrine; but if Cæsar is to get his due, what compensation are Irish landlords to give you? . . . France, when she was getting shut of her landlords, did not give them twenty years’ compensation. No: *she gave them twenty feet of rope.*”

[THOMAS BRENNAN at TEEVNACREENA, May 30th, 1880.]

“From next Tuesday morning every man in this assemblage, every man in Ireland, has a right to have a gun—(cheers)—and not only has a right *to have a gun*, for you always had that right, *but you have now a right to show it*: and before many weeks will have *passed away you will have a right to use it.*”

THOMAS BRENNAN at GALWAY, November 15th, 1880.]

“The landlords were beginning to feel that there was a check on their headlong course. Certainly, if there was justice at this side of the grave, they would be made to feel the weight of all their crimes. The blood of the murdered millions cried to heaven for vengeance. He believed, indeed, that the *compensation most Irish landlords were entitled to* would be the prison *or the rope*, for having robbed and murdered the Irish people.”

[MR. LALOR, M.P., at ATHY, October 10th, 1880.]

“Their Archbishop that day in his pastoral showed that he appeared to be under the impression that the Land League—and he (Mr. Lalor) was a

member of it—were advising the people to shed the blood of the landlords. He protested against the Archbishop saddling them with the responsibility of every assassination that took place in the country. Neither he nor anyone else had a right to do it. They spoke in that way because one poor fellow of the name of Mountmorres was shot the other day (groans). . . . What the Land League did was to try to show them another road besides shooting those men, who were not worth shooting. The French people, at the time of their Revolution, took a method of getting rid of their landlords that, unfortunately, they (the meeting) were unable to take. No, they were not able at present to take the method that they took. He wished they were (cheers). It was not there that he would be then.”

[Mr. SEXTON, M.P., at BAILIEBORO', October 21st, 1880.]

“There is one point upon which this resolution is silent, and I think it my duty to say that if any man be found among you to violate the rule which you have laid down—if any man be found who takes a farm from which another has been evicted—it is your duty, it is your right, to make evidenced the feeling which the action of that man caused in your minds. You have no idea—I am sure none of you would commit an outrage. Outrage hurts our cause. It may gratify the feelings of one man, *but it raises the cry for coercion*, which may, perhaps, interfere with the progress of our movement, and do material hurt.”

[Mr. SEXTON, M.P., at CORK, December 17th, 1882.]

“In every battle some men must suffer: in every battle some men must fall.”

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in the HOUSE OF COMMONS.]

“What will a mere blood-tax do? It is quite useless. It may make the Irish peasant sorry for the murder unless he obtains the advantage of it.”

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at MONAGHAN, June 18th, 1883.]

“Two years and three months ago the Irish National Land League was in its infancy; two years have passed and the work then begun has been marked indelibly on the pages of the country's history.”

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., quoted in House of Commons.]

"If I was an Irish farmer, and if I saw men come upon my land to put me out of the land, then, whatever people might think, and although they might come in the name and under the authority of the law, I would shoot as many of them as I could."

[Mr. POWER, M.P., at LISMORE.]

"The people of Lismore had a special interest in the downfall of the Government, for a member of the House of Devonshire, the Marquis of Hartington, was the constant prop of coercion for this country, and was the constant support of the system carried on in this country by Bolton and French ; but thank goodness his power is broken. The great misfortune which befel the family was attributed to his course of conduct towards this country. He was warned over and over again not to persist in his course, or honest men would be driven to means of redress which otherwise they would not dream of, and he may thank his own hostility and that of his colleagues towards this country for the untimely death of his brother. (Cheers)."—*Cork Examiner, September 29th, 1885.*

[P. J. GORDON, Land League Organiser, at SHRULE, June 20th, 1880.]

"I ask you, in the name of Ireland, to treat them with contempt—pass them by, don't speak to them in the fair. (A voice in the crowd—'Give them what Lord Leitrim got.') J. W. Nally : 'You are too cowardly to do that.' (Mr. Gordon continued, without deprecating in any way this broad hint of Nally's.) Remember there is a story about the boy in the bush. When the old man asked him to come down he would not ; when he threw a stick at him he laughed, but when he gave a blow of a stone he came down at once. I don't want you to give a blow of a stone at the landlords, but you may do it if you like."

[P. W. NALLY, Land League Organiser, at BOHOLA, July 24th, 1880.]

"This resolution that I proposed, that no man take another man's land, that is fifteen months now, and it has not been digested yet. *There wants to be an injection.* Like a doctor, if *one pill* does not do, to ad-

minister a dozen to help them to operate. The Peace Preservation Act is abolished altogether. Each of you can have a licence for ten shillings. Well, by paying ten shillings you can shoot the whole year round. The Act is that you can shoot jackdaws, magpies, vermin, *and the nuisance*.—A voice : ‘The police.’—Nally : Don’t shoot the police—*the landlords and land-grabbers are not brought under it*.—(Laughter.)—I am not telling you to shoot, but I am telling you what you can do if you like. There is only ten shillings licence for the whole year round. You will have to pay three pounds for game, but *the other applies to the vermin line*. It is useless to be proposing unity while we have such scoundrels amongst us. Without unity we *cannot get rid of the land-sharks and land-grabbers*. I say you must organise and establish a branch of the Land League. *There has been more good done since this day week—there has been a landlord shot in Balinrobe*.—(Cheers.)—You all can have rifles, and any of you who are not able to buy a rifle—(cheers)—or gun, have the pitchfork in your hand. But you must pay ten shillings for the licence if you want *to shoot the vermin—you know the vermin I mean*, what is nibbling at your hearts.—(Laughter.)—You know *pills* are not bad, I mean for to help the digestion.”—(Laughter.)

[P. W. NALLY at SHRULE, October 31st, 1880.]

“I suggested on one occasion *pills* ; I have found out that the *pills have got mild*, and they are nothing but sweets. But now *I suggest something stronger—dynamite, gun-cotton*, that is the only thing I suggest in future.”

[P. W. NALLY at CLERHAUN, October 10th, 1880.]

“I say, once and for ever, away with resolutions—away with speechifying—away with anything—but let them get in—but let each and every man in the village from which a farm has been taken—*let him come for the pills and the pills only*. (A voice—‘Holloway’s ointment.’) Nally ‘That is too mild. *Where the pills will go they want no ointment*. Unite and organise. Our meetings are like a drop of water in the ocean *unless you get the pills*.’”

[P. W. NALLY at BALLINROBE, December, 1882.]

“A thing occurred, some days ago, here (referring to the murder of a bailiff named Ferrick). He got pills worse than Holloway’s pills : people are coming from Dublin and elsewhere ; ye are the people—give them the pills. Do away with landlords and land-robbers. It is all in your own hands.”—*Evidence of Police-Constable Patrick Kelly*.

[Mr. MUFFNEY, Land League Organiser, at KNOCKMORE,
October 31st, 1880.]

"The Land League counsels you to hold the harvest, and pledge yourselves, before God and your country, that you will not take a farm from which another has been evicted. *You can carry and use pistols. You may shoot ground game and overground game, such as rattlesnakes, which you may point your gun at, and if they bite, shoot them.*"

[MICHAEL J. BOYTON, Fenian Emissary and Land League
Organiser, at SHRULE, June 20th, 1880.]

"I understand, my friends, that there is a party here who has got up a system of reporting to the Government that the peaceable people of Shrule and its surroundings were determined to cut one another's throats. But I say, *we have no intention of cutting the throats of our friends, but I don't care if half the throats of our enemies were cut before morning.*"

[MICHAEL J. BOYTON, at CAHERLISTRANE, September 5th, 1880.]

"There has been a return asked in the House of Commons the other night for the number of cattle slaughtered in Ireland maliciously for the last two years. . . . I tell you, I'd neither injure the sheep or the cow of the land-robber who threw me on the world to starve. I would say with the fellow who had his white trousers destroyed by a mad dog : 'I will neither beat nor abuse you, but I will cry mad dog till *the people hunt you down and kill you.*'"

[MICHAEL J. BOYTON, March 5th, 1881.]

"We have seen plenty of landlords and agents that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrage by night, but meet him in the broad day-light, and if you must blow out his brains, blow them out in the daytime. If the police come at night and you have an old musket, or an old pistol, and your wife or daughter is frightened, you can blow out his brains."

[Mr. MATTHEW HARRIS, M.P., at GALWAY, October 24th, 1880.]

"And when I see this extermination, and when I see the weakness of our people, and when I see tyranny triumphing over right and justice, and

when I see my countrymen driven to the four winds of heaven, I say to myself, and I say it here to-day, that if the tenant-farmers of Ireland shoot down landlords as partridges are shot in the month of September, that Matt. Harris never would say one word against them."

[M. M. O'SULLIVAN, Assistant Secretary of the Land League,
at KEADUE, June 20th, 1884.]

"It is for you to decide whether you will use every means in your power to put an end to this system of landlordism—like that brave woman who, when the landlord came to shoot in her door, got the poker and split the murderer's head."

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at CARRICK-ON-SUIR, September 7th,
1884.]

"If they must have hunting at all, let them keep their hands in practice by hunting landlords. (Loud cheers.) Hunt landlordism up hill and down dale until landlords are as scarce as the foxes, that it is now their desire to rear and protect. (Loud cheers.) Earl Spencer stated at Gowran the other day that there were no more concessions to be given to Ireland. Well, that was, in his opinion, a good indication that a change was coming. They said that before, and Fenianism gave them their answer. (Cheers.) They renewed it again, and the Land League movement made them change their tune. (A voice: 'What about Mr. Gladstone?') Well, he is one of the best of the cut-throats. . . . Let them go on, let them organise, let them pull together, until the sight of a landlord in Ireland will be as rare an animal as the wolf."—*Irish Times*.

[Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at DUBLIN, September 3rd, 1886,
on his return from the Chicago Convention.]

"Aye, if England had us still, as she once had all alone here to herself, and nobody looking, there are men at the head of affairs to-day—there are manikin Cromwells and Churchills—(hisses)—yes, and as somebody suggests, there are Castlereaghs—(groans)—though he is a very diminutive sort of Cromwell indeed. (Laughter.) I say that, if these men had their way as they once had in Ireland, they would not scruple to settle the Irish question, would not scruple to settle the Irish difficulty as Cromwell

settled it. (Groans). *They would send their Sir Edward Bullers—*(groans)
—they would flood the country with their valiant runaways from the Soudain
—(cheers)*—and if they had their way they would leave us an island of corpses*
and desolation. Thank God the day for that kind of thing is gone. They
 are dealing now, not with this small land, but with the gigantic Ireland
 across the Atlantic, an Ireland where the British Coercion Acts never ran
 —(cheers)—and where a British red-coat never set his foot except to run.
 (Laughter and cheers.) I will say no more to you now, because I know
 you are exhausted. (Cries of “No.”) Well, any way, I am exhausted if
 you are not. *I want to say before I retire that these Irish-Americans*
are very extreme men. So are we all, I hope, extreme men.
 (Cheers.) *We are all, I hope, as extreme as they in resenting and*
resisting English rule in Ireland. (Cheers.) This is
 the message that that great nation of ours across the water bade us
 bring to you—“*Go on as you have been going. Give a good account of the*
Churchills—(hisses)*—and the Beaches—*(hisses)*—and the Castlereaghs—*
(prolonged hisses)—and the Bullers—(hisses)*—and all the rest of the Bull*
family—(laughter)*—who came over here to govern us against our will.*
Go on as you have been going, and I promise you, for all these millions in
America, that they never will spare their treasury, aye, and if the chance
offers they never will spare their blood. (Loud cheers.) *On and on until*
this great fight is ended in the happiness and the independence of the bright
green land that bore us.” (Cheers.)—*Irish Times’ report.*

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at DUBLIN, September 30th, 1884.]

“You may argue, you may demonstrate, you may speechify, you may
 assemble in your thousands, you may pass resolutions, you may send
 representatives to Parliament, but until the rattle of the slugs is heard on
 the roadside, the Prime Minister of England will not even take the trouble
 of investigating the ordinary facts in connection with the commonest
 grievances of our native land.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, October 1st, 1884.

[The Rev. Canon DOYLE at NEW ROSS, August 21st, 1886.]

“He did not say that liberty was not worth a drop of blood. He would
 say that it was worth much blood ; and he would also say that the people
 must not be exterminated. These men who were trying to exterminate
 the people had their Bibles, and they were gilt Bibles, too ; but did they
 read in them about the rich glutton who refused the poor man the crumbs

from his table ; did they see where, when he died, the sentence which God passed upon him is given in the terrible words, "*Sepultus in inferno.*" If he went to hell for not giving alms to the poor, what hell would be deep enough for those who rob and trample upon the face of the poor?"

[MR. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at ENNISKILLEN, Oct. 10th, 1886.]

"We will have another Coercion Act. (Groans.) When I last heard the Chief Secretary speaking in the House of Commons he said there would be another Coercion Act. *I said under my breath* what I say here now publicly, let them bring on their Coercion Act. (Cheers.) We fought them before and we shall, if necessary, fight them again." (Loud cheers.) —*Freeman's Journal*.

TYPICAL REFERENCES TO FENIANISM AND REBELLION AS A MEANS OF OBTAINING SEPARATION.

[MICHAEL DAVITT at MILLTOWN, CO. GALWAY, June 15th, 1879.]

"He urged them to organise. What had organisation done for Ireland? and they said the organisation to which he had the honour to belong—the Fenian organisation (loud and prolonged cheers)—they said that that organisation disestablished the Irish Church. So said Mr. Gladstone. Well, an organisation of the tenant-farmers would disestablish the landlords in half the time (cheers). In conclusion, Mr. Davitt counselled them to agitate, and said he did not look to the House of Commons for a settlement of this question, but to the perseverance of the Irish people on Irish soil."

[MR. BIGGAR, M.P., at BERMONDSEY, March 3rd, 1879.]

"By 'the Irish Race,' Mr. Biggar said he meant to include all Irishmen of the Roman Catholic faith wherever they were to be found. Protestants he did not consider Irishmen at all. By Mr. Gladstone's Land Act the tenant-farmers of Ireland had been considerably benefited. . . . But how was the Act obtained? By fear. Mr. Gladstone

himself admitted that it was the Fenian rising which impelled him to do it. Now he (Mr. Biggar) would not say whether he himself was or was not a Fenian, but if anyone called him a Fenian he would answer that he did not count that any disgrace. Physical force was the one thing for which the English governing classes cared. They cared nothing for justice, they cared nothing for reason, they cared nothing for the rights of the people, either Irish or English. They were moved only by their fears. He urged all his countrymen to unite in some organisation—he did not care which—and make as much display of physical force as possible. They might be few in numbers, but when they remembered the great results which flowed from the determined action of the handful of men at Manchester and Clerkenwell, they could not doubt of their ultimate success.”—*Times report*.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at TIPPERARY, October 31st, 1880.]

“No, neither are the Irish Nationalists hostile to the Land League, nor is the Land League hostile to the National Organisation. Our movement and our organisation is a temporary organisation got up to remove one of the greatest evils of English misrule in Ireland . . . and which has always acted true to the spirit in which it was founded, as a garrison to hold Ireland down under English misrule.”

[Mr. T. P. O’CONNOR, M.P., at MAINE, October 26th, 1881.]

“The English Government is based upon murder, rapine, violence, confiscation, sacrilege, buckshot, bayonets, and flying columns. Oh ! that these latter were to meet the Irish people in America—then, indeed, would they be flying columns.”

[J. W. WALSH, Land League Organiser, at SHRULE, June 20th, 1880.]

“The spirit of Irish Nationality is as strong here to-day as it was when the three noble souls ascended the scaffold of Manchester, and raised that holy cry of Ireland—‘God save Ireland !’ I am here to-day as an Irish Nationalist, to proclaim the doctrine of Irish Nationality. I am one of those who have taken an active part in the movement since its initiation.

“Shall you tell me that the Land League shall be a cloak to drown National independence? . . . Your sole object should be to attain, once and for all, the independence of your native land. . . . I would ask you to unite for the overthrow of that gross system that has kept you the slaves of an occupant power, and then the overthrow of another power, which you understand.”

[J. W. WALSH at CLERHAUN, October 10th, 1880.]

“I am one of those who believe in the amelioration of Ireland with the sword, still I say, let all be combined and united first.”

[THOMAS BRENNAN, Secretary to the Land League, at
TEEVNACREENA, May 30th, 1880.]

“As an Irish Nationalist, I hope for and will work for my country’s independence ; and I believe that *I cannot at present adopt a more feasible plan* to accomplish that purpose than by the destruction of what has been the enemy’s garrison in this country. (‘Down with Landlordism.’)”

[THOMAS BRENNAN, ex-Land League Secretary, at SAN FRANCISCO,
January 19th, 1884.]

“We go to-day in Ireland for what is practicable. But even now we keep an eye upon the possibilities of an appeal to the last resort—to arms. Should that day ever come, are there not thousands of Irishmen in this country who will believe that a noble death is preferable to an ignoble life? I know that there are thousands who, should that day ever come, will sever every tie that is dear to serve the Mother Country.”

[THOMAS BRENNAN, ex-Land League Secretary, at NEW YORK,
May 21st, 1884.]

“There are men in Ireland to-day, as there always were, and I trust always shall be, men who joyfully go to the prison cell and calmly mount the scaffold steps, for they know that every hour spent in prison and every drop of innocent blood shed but widens the gulf that separates the people of Ireland from the Government of Great Britain.”

[Mr. MORAN, Land League Organiser, at FINEA, May 27th, 1880.]

“This movement is one purely National. . . . It is because this land movement is permanently practical—Nationalist—because it is a movement of ‘Ireland for the Irish.’”

[P. W. NALLY, at SHRULE, October 31st, 1880.]

“But I am firmly convinced that by first uprooting this system . . . by first laying the foundation-stone of National independence in the destruction of Irish landlordism, you will then be able gloriously to build that edifice for which Emmet died, and for which Lord Edward bled. I have been told that there are here to-day only two parties, the National Land League and the Fenians. (Cheers for the Fenians.) Mr. Walsh—Three cheers more for Fenianism. (Cheers.) Mr. Nally—Are we to be told here to-day that the National Land League and the Fenians cannot unite? We have only one enemy—the English Government. For seven hundred years they have tried to destroy our Nationality. We lived through the Elizabeths, the Marys, and the Victorias, and we are destined to-day to live until our nation is a glorious one—an independent one and glorious one. The cause of every tenant-farmer who is a Land Leaguer is the cause of every man who is a Fenian.”

[M. J. BOYTON, Land League Organiser, June 13th, 1880.]

“And I to-day want you to lift up your voices and hands to fight for the green soil of Erin. There are great but misguided men who state and write that we are leaving aside the great glorious cause of Irish Nationality, and occupying our attention with the lesser one.—*It is false.*”

[M. J. BOYTON, at CAHIR, September 19th, 1880.]

“When they were able first to achieve their social independence, they might form the rank and file of 250,000 Land Leaguers, select an Irish National Guard, that, with the weapon of freemen slung on their arm—the rifle—might one day fitly take the place of the organisation that a hundred years ago gave Ireland a brief glimpse of liberty.”

[M. J. BOYTON at DUNMANWAY, May 30th, 1880.]

“There was a little story told by Mr. Parnell, at a meeting in the Rotunda, at the conclusion of his address, to the effect that a certain

American gentleman came upon the platform and said, ‘Parnell, there is twenty-five dollars, five for bread and twenty for lead.’ Now, that simple little bit of humour has put your hereditary enemy in a great flutter. Therefore, I am not authorised by the President of the Irish National Land League to tell you that was a *bona fide* transaction, that the man gave him twenty-five dollars. I am authorised to tell you here, and I came all the way down to Dunmanway, and those twenty dollars are perfectly safe; and that as Mr. Forster, in the House of Commons, on Friday night, refused to tell your representatives what he was going to do with the £30,000 of Secret Service money, and that he has displayed admirable reticence in doing so, we, in like manner, are not going to tell Mr. Forster what we are going to do with the twenty dollars that has since swelled into 20,000. The money gives 4 or 5 per cent. interest on it, and we are turning it into good round sovereigns, with the imprint of Her Most Gracious Majesty upon them. Therefore, I ask you in the name of God, in the name of every honest Irishman, in the name of your long-suffering country, to stick together like brothers, one and all. Show us evidence that you are in earnest to help us, and take a share in this twenty dollars by showing us that you will stand together.”

[M. M. O’SULLIVAN, Assistant Secretary to the Land League,
at RAINSBOROUGH, July 4th, 1880.]

“It is not by words and by cheers that we can accomplish that end. If it were it would be easy enough to gain independence. (Hear, hear.) Let us look to America to-day. Let us look to every country in the world. Can you point me to one——? What is it that has gained it? The sword, and the sword alone; the rifle and the man——. These are the only powers that can gain your independence, and any person tells you the contrary tells you a lie. ‘What rends in twain the dungeon’s chain?’ ‘the sword.’ What is it that will right the oppression——? What is it that will right Irishmen; and no man will say there is no oppression——? Who can stand here and tell me that the Irish tenant-farmer is not a slave, a slave to his landlord? ‘What rends in twain the despot’s chain?’ If we had no despots, if we had not the prison, we have got too much of it. It is only in one way we can get rid of it. What is the——of the sword? To free the slave; to make all men free before the nation. Are Irishmen cowards enough that they will not stand up and free themselves as other nations have done? It rests for you to say whether you will or not. This is a great day. Will you ask them another year to send you alms? Will you not stand up and say to them to-day, when they are

celebrating their anniversary of independence, will you not say, 'You are our brothers, we are ready to sacrifice our lives for our country as you have done to free yours?' Will that cry go to the world? ('Yes.') Are you determined? ('Yes.') Will you have that in your hearts? ('Yes.') It is rarely you are spoken to like this. Men have come forward to gain notoriety to get into Parliament. They have duped you. The time has come now when men, no better than yourselves, mean to shake off the landlord yoke in this country, and also the yoke of British domination."

[M. M. O'SULLIVAN at FINEA, May 27th, 1880.]

"Now, I am not going to speak on the National question to-day. I am not sorry for it because I believe that the most of you will agree with me that the National question must be settled in a place other than Parliament, I will not speak on that question at present."

[P. J. GORDON at MILLTOWN, July 25th, 1880.]

"Why are you begging in your own country? Because you are too cowardly. . . . If you don't get it by fair means, I say you should fight for it. I am glad, my friends, that Her Majesty's Government has sent such a number of police here to-day (A voice—'To hell with them')."

[P. J. SHERIDAN, "INVINCIBLE" EMISSARY at LACKAGH,
August 1st, 1880.]

"Mr. Chairman and fellow-countrymen, I feel proud at seeing you assembled here to-day in your thousands. We must assert our rights, and if we do not get them through our members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices *through the muzzles of 'Minie' rifles* as well as from those platforms. We have America at our back, and she is watching over us and helping us in the hours of our distress. (A voice—'Cheers for America.') There are evictions in all parts of Ireland: the landlords are fighting against us with a strong hand. Organise yourselves, then; join the National Land League, and by this means you will see your country what she once was, a free and prosperous country. (Cheers). God forbid that we will ever forget to make Ireland a nation; and when I say Ireland a nation, I mean more than a green flag floating from Dublin Castle; I mean Ireland for the Irish. If the government of Ireland. . . . Most of us here will agree that the highest form of

government is a Republic. Well, you may establish an Irish Republic on Irish soil ; but as long as the tillers of that soil are forced to support class, your Irish Republic would be but a mockery of freedom." (Cheers).

[PATRICK EGAN, late League Treasurer, at a BANQUET in ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.]

"After ages of tyranny it has been no small trouble to bring forth agitation in Ireland, and now no amount of coercion will bring back her people into the old rut. They are perfecting the National League. They are ostracising the landlords. A large number of our citizens are prepared to fight for freedom, and I have no doubt that you in America are prepared to assist them whenever a proper and suitable occasion presents itself (loud cheers). To attempt to fight without the occasion would be criminal. It had been said by Englishmen that it was best to let the sore in Ireland grow to a head and then lance it. They will never have the opportunity. We do not propose to give them such an advantage over us. Mr. Egan then stated that a resolution was offered at the Philadelphia Convention, and the same was sent to the committee on resolutions, to the effect that a challenge should be sent to England that 10,000,000 Irish in America should meet 30,000,000 English troops on a fair field, and that the result should be final. The statement of this proposition caused long continued applause that fairly shook the hotel."—*United Ireland*, June 30th, 1883.

[MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P. (Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1886), at the NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING, DUBLIN.]

"Irishmen only wanted peace ; they did not want agitation, but if they did not get their rights there would be war."—*Irish Times*, October 21st, 1885.

[MR. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN.]

"They might be quite sure that the nations of Europe, who were watching the foreign and domestic relations of England closely just now, had learned from the events of the past week that here in the heart of the British Empire there was a nation of Irishmen, with the pulse of Irishmen in other parts of the globe beating with them, whose relations with England were simply the relations of civil war tempered by scarcity of fire-arms."—*Freeman*, April 6th, 1885.

[MR. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at KANTURK, CO. CORK.]

"England is now entering upon a gigantic struggle with Russia. (Enthusiastic cheers.) It seems to me to be just the moment for the Irish people to proclaim to the world, and to warn England, that in the hour of her peril she will have to deal with an Irish nation, which she has oppressed, impoverished, ruined, and plundered—(prolonged cheering)—a nation which burns and longs for an opportunity of putting an end for ever to English misgovernment in Ireland by peaceable means and by friendly alliance, if that be possible ; but if not, by any means that God's providence may send to close our long struggle for National independence." (Prolonged cheering.)—*United Ireland, April 18th, 1885.*

[MR. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., in SHEFFIELD.]

"The Irish Nationalist party were now masters of the situation. If they did not win now future generations might take up the cause, and fight it out on the hillsides of Ireland, not with votes or pledges, but with weapons some of them would prefer to have recourse to."—*Irishman, July 17th, 1883.*

[REV. E. SHEEHY, C.C., Special Delegate of the Irish Land League, at a CONVENTION, held in CHICAGO, in December, 1881.]

"I want to tell you here to-night, assembled delegates of the Irish-American race in America, that we face landlordism and aim at its utter destruction, but only as a stepping-stone, and as a means to a greater and a higher end. . . . If your memory required any more vivid pictures to remind you of, to convince you, how hateful and hideous a thing landlordism is in Ireland—you know that it has clothed the Irish people in rags ; but I have to remind you, too, that it is landlordism which has helped to load Ireland with chains. We will not be content with casting off the rags, we shall break our chains likewise, and I, for one, will not be content to hurl the broken links at the feet of our tyrant. I would fain give expression to the hope, which has been the vow of ages, that we act more with union and solidity, and drive them at the very heart of our enemy. In France, landlordism was swept down and crushed utterly into powder by the armed hand of Revolution. (A voice—'That's what we must do.') If any gentleman will undertake the commission, he will have my benediction."—*New York Irish World, December 17th, 1881.*

[Mr. RICHARD LALOR, M.P., at BRAY.]

"I thought when I was coming to Bray that I should have met with fashionable ladies, young children, and old men, but I am glad to see that the men before me are fighting men. (Cheers). I am rather old to fight myself, but I like to be surrounded by men who can fight. I want the young men who listen to me to remember the days when Ireland was a nation—when the whole of Ireland joined and drove the common enemy from the country. . . . I ask the young men here, and the rising generation, whether we are to be subject to a foreign country or to be freemen. But I see no reason to doubt that we shall be free. I know myself what is passing in the minds of many of the young men I see before me, and what is passing in the minds of the young people of my own county and round about—that the day may not be far distant when they will have to use that sort of force that every other country that attained its liberty was obliged to have recourse to."—*Irish Times*, January 5th, 1883.

[Mr. MAYNE, M.P., at FETHARD, CO. TIPPERARY.]

"Would England fight one of the strongest powers of the world or not? If England elected to fight Russia, she would have to consider long before the struggle was over what she was going to do with Ireland."—*United Ireland*, April 18th, 1885.

[Mr. O'RYAN at ANACARTHY, CO. TIPPERARY, on April 26th, 1885.]

"A gentleman standing by him on the platform—a stranger in Tipperary—after looking on the surging masses below, said: 'These do not look like men who, when they load the rifles, would forget to put in the bullets. (Immense cheering). There was the character of the Tipperary men in an epigram.' . . . England was in difficulty and in danger. (Loud cheering.) If they were only true to the Irish cause now, true to themselves, true to their leaders, true to their friends beyond the seas, victory would soon be with them."—*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at CHICAGO, January 30th, 1884.]

"There is not a supporter of Parnell in Ireland, or in America, or in Australia, who, if a reasonable opportunity should arise for hastening the liberty of Ireland by force, would not fly to it with the energy of hope and frenzy of revenge. No, the Irish race scattered throughout the world has grown up with only one aspiration—National independence. In

three worlds it now presents itself in vigorous and distinct life. Three worlds the Irish National League has drawn together like three leaves on a single stem. Behold the League's new shamrock—Ireland, America, Australia! (Cheers.) . . . It is the symbol of unity in Trinity; it is the symbol of Irish union, Irish determination, Irish youth and strength; it is the symbol of Irish National independence to be achieved for Ireland by the Irish race in its three homes—Ireland, America, Australia." (Cheers.) —*Irishman, March 1st, 1884.*

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at MIDDLETON, April 18th, 1884.]

"The Land League was founded to destroy landlordism. . . . to banish poverty from Ireland. (Cheers.) The Land League was founded for the purpose of recovering the land of Ireland—this proud soil for which their fathers bled—(cheers)—from the landlords, and giving it to those who owned it before God—the men who tilled the soil. (Cheers.) Unfortunately, so enslaved had been the Irish people, that they were not in a position to right their wrongs by having recourse, like the people of America, to the use of forcible means."—*Freeman's Journal, April 19th, 1884.*

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at MEETING OF NATIONAL LEAGUE in DUBLIN, September 16th, 1884.]

"As sure as God made this earth, if Mr. Parnell's methods, and the Parliamentary party's methods, and the methods of that open organisation failed, there would be other methods tried in this country. . . . The Land Act was only given to them when fierce and strong; the Church was only disestablished because of the Fenian movement. He wondered exceedingly what upheaval of the country would be the prelude to the granting of Home Rule."—*Freeman, September 17th, 1884.*

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at NURNEY, CO. KILDARE.]

"Mr. Parnell exhibited no intolerance of men who might be anxious ultimately to liberate Ireland by the sword. . . . At a number of meetings which had lately been held throughout the country cheers had been given for the Mahdi (another cheer for the Mahdi); and he believed that nothing which had occurred for years so much brought home to the English people the bitter fact, and the great truth, that Ireland regarded England as her enemy, and rejoiced at her misfortunes."—*United Ireland, February 21st, 1885.*

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at DARLINGTON.]

“Would England blindly wait until the time came when she was being hugged by the Russian bear, and became aware that Irish rifles were at work?”—*United Ireland*, March 21st, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at DUNDALK.]

“He rejoiced that in their resolutions they first declared their unalterable determination to be satisfied with nothing that England could give so long as Englishmen ruled them (cheers), and so long as the English flag took the place where the green only ought to float. . . . The old saying was as true now as in the days when Wolf Tone died, that ‘England’s difficulty, under the providence of God, was Ireland’s opportunity.’”—*United Ireland*, April 18th, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.]

“Why have the Irish people voluntarily and heartily cheered the Mahdi? Chiefly because the Mahdi is the enemy of England, and his men are killing Englishmen. This is a hard and bitter, but most true, fact (hear, hear). The Irish cheer the Mahdi because he is the enemy of the English! It is simply folly on the part of the English people to shut their eyes to the fact which is patent to the whole world—that the great bulk of the Irish people are up and in a state of rebellion, which, as my friend Mr. O’Brien said, is merely tempered by the scarcity of fire-arms in the country.”—*United Ireland*, May 23rd, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at TAGHMON, CO. WEXFORD.]

“He would never raise his voice upon any platform except to proclaim that constitutional means might fail, and if they did fail it was the duty of every Irishman to look into his heart and see whether he was prepared to do and die under the green flag.” (Great applause).—*United Ireland*, May 30th, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, at CASTLEBLANEY, August 9th, 1885.]

“They had not got sufficient weapons to fight for the land. If they had even so many revolvers as the Emergency-men, or as many nice little handy carbines as their friends the police, there would be very little time taken up about this Land Purchase Bill in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) But they were not able to fight. They were willing, they were anxious, they would love it, but they were not able.”—*Freeman*, August 10th, 1885.

[Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at FORTNIGHTLY MEETING of NATIONAL LEAGUE, DUBLIN, January 29th, 1886.]

“They only asked England for their just rights, and if she drove them to despair they must take the consequences of despair. . . . To threaten martial law in Ireland was like feigning to threaten a giant ; for England had enemies in every quarter of the globe, and martial law in Ireland might strike a note which might rouse the Indian princes into great rebellion, and might bring the Russians into London to stable their horses in the Houses of Parliament. . . . The Government ought to punish Viscount Cole for urging that the Roman Catholics ought to be hunted out of Fermanagh. If they did not do so he (Mr. Redmond) would not be surprised if something happened to him (Viscount Cole). If England did not grant Home Rule to Ireland, the alternative might be something the English people did not expect.”

[Mr. O'KELLY, M.P., at CASTLEREA.]

“There was an outlook of a great European war, and whatever would be the result, no doubt the interest of Ireland would be to bring pressure to bear on the Government to get her just rights” (cheers).—*United Ireland, April 18th, 1885.*

[Mr. O'HANLON, M.P., at CAVAN.]

“He hated British rule, and he hated the British Parliament. The people were now in a position to maintain their rights, and to insist upon their representatives doing their duty, no matter whether it be in the English House of Commons or any other place—whether it be fighting with the tongue, or pen, or anything else—(applause)—they were determined to maintain their right to a native Parliament.”—*Irish Times, October 20th, 1885.*

[Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, M.P., at BORRIS, CO. CARLOW.]

“Now the Irish people had no arms, but a hundred years ago they had their volunteers, and the volunteers of '82 gave them—not in its plentitude, but in a degree—National independence, and that National independence was what the people had in view, and which they would recover, arms or no arms (cheers). The resolution of the Irish people to

recover their National independence was inflexible and unswerving, and come what might, the day was not far distant that would see the resurrection of the Irish people, as a free and emancipated nation (applause). . . . They should make one more grand effort at the next General Election, and if with serried ranks and undivided forces, and a united Parliamentary party appealing to the reason and the conscience and sense of justice of those who now dominated them, they were unable to acquire that reasonable concession which they were demanding, then they would be justified in abandoning mere Constitutional means, and they should look to such opportunities as providence might afford them to vindicate their claims to freedom upon such fields as occasion might present (great applause). [A voice—A cheer for '98. Cheers.] Whatever might be in store for them in the future, this he could say, that all they possessed—aye, even life itself—would be worthily spent in striving for their country's independence." (Applause).—*United Ireland*, April 11th, 1885.

LEADING ARTICLES IN "UNITED IRELAND."

"It is quite possible, therefore, that the hour has struck for one of the most gigantic death-struggles in which England was ever engaged—one in which, perchance, Ireland may be destined to be a not altogether unimportant factor."—*United Ireland*, March 7th, 1885.

"An Indian mutiny would mark the first success of the Russian arms on the frontier. An Irish rising would burst forth on the first signal from a French warship. A French diversion in Canada would cause the insurrection which Riel has stirred up among the French half-breeds in the far North-West to spread into a conflagration, which would probably raise the French of Lower Canada in arms; and the power of the Dominion Government to cope with such an emergency would not be augmented by the Irish-American raids across the frontier."—*United Ireland*, April 4th, 1885.

"It is not as in the days when the Franco-Dutch armament waited in the Texel for a favouring wind till Tone's heart was sick, or when Hoche's ill-starred fleet was blown out of Bantry Bay like a fleet of cockle-shells. Any of these powers could defy the winds and evade the world-scattered English fleet, and fling five or ten thousand veteran troops with supplies of rifles, cannons and officers, upon any given point of the Irish coast. And while an Irish rising with scythes and cudgels may seem the best joke in the world to Mr. Chamberlain, a French army in possession of Limerick, with all the hot-blooded youth of the country flocking thither

to shoulder its hundred thousand French rifles and learn its French drill, coincidentally with an Irish conflagration throughout Durham and Lancashire, and an Irish eruption among the palaces and banking-houses of London City, would not furnish nearly such cheerful food for merriment to a Warrington audience.”—*United Ireland*, September 19th, 1885.

[JOHN F. FINERTY at CHICAGO CONVENTION, August 19th, 1886.]

“But we have taken the advice of our friends. We have done what seemed best to them. We have treated them to the consideration which ought to be given to the men who have come so far to meet us. *We assure them that so long as they manfully maintain the Irish principle, as they are pledged to do, so long as they accept no final settlements, so long as they keep the green flag flying, and appeal to the best sentiments of the Irish people, they will find no truer hearts, no warmer supporters, than the old Fenians and the Irish National Extremists of the United States.*” (Continued applause.)—*From the Chicago Citizen report, reproduced in Irish World*, September 4th, 1886.

[MICHAEL DAVITT at CHICAGO CONVENTION, August, 1886.]

“Mr. Davitt (in the course of a defence of the Parliamentary action) then continued to say that he never boasted of what he had done or might do for Ireland. *If physical force became necessary he, too, would resort to it.*”—*Chicago Citizen and Irish World reports*.

[Mr. JOHN O’CONNOR, M.P., at CORK, August 5th, 1886.]

“The Irish in America not alone would be prepared to aid them in the fight for freedom with dimes and dollars, but also with rifles and bayonets if necessary. The mode in which the fight was to be conducted rested with the Irish people themselves.”

[Mr. T. SEXTON, M.P., at the BOSTON CONVENTION, August 13th, 1884.]

“We are assured by the hope that is in our hearts, and the certainty that is in our minds, that the resources of English civilisation for Irish misfortune are now exhausted, and that when we have placed in the

House of Commons a party strong enough to defend the Irish popular organisation against annoyance, intimidation and oppression; when we have placed on the floor of the House a body of seventy or eighty men strong enough to clog the wheels of English policy, and powerful enough to offer a constant impediment to English rule of Ireland—ay, of English rule of England, unless Irish rule is allowed. When we have brought about that consummation, and when that party are able to prove, as I believe we have proved within the last four years, that we are determined to tell the truth and shame whatever potentate may be concerned in its suppression, then, I believe, the moment will have come that landlordism and English rule together will have reached their last ditch, and fall, never more to rise.”

MR. A. SULLIVAN, President of Irish-American National League, in
NEW YORK, May 21st, 1884.]

“Time and Heaven have forged another sword. Its hilt is in the giant grasp of a united Irish race, who will yet turn exile into victory. For that sword no scabbard shall be wrought until Ireland, clothed in the majestic robes of industry and peace, shall have taken her place amongst the nations.”

ON HATRED TO ENGLAND AND SEPARATION AS THE AIM OF THE CONSPIRACY.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at BOSTON.]

“We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism.”—*Irishman*, December 24th, 1881.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at NEW ORLEANS, January, 1882.]

“We wish to get rid of British rule in Ireland. Landlordism is the prop of that rule, and it must be abolished. (Cheers). We are engaged in a great struggle—the reconquest of Ireland.” In concluding his address he said that, “In spite of lowering clouds and an obscure sun, the glorious light of liberty would soon irradiate Ireland, and gladden her suffering people.” (Loud applause).—*United Ireland*, February 4th, 1882.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., in NEW YORK, February, 1882.]

“This is a common-sense movement we are engaged in. (Cheers.) It is a movement to win back from England the land of Ireland, which was robbed from the people by the confiscating armies of Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell. (Cheers.) It is alleged that the present movement has nothing National behind it—as if everyone of its leaders was not first known and trusted because of his National aims. But I would remind you that Mr. Parnell, in his Galway speech two years ago, explained the basis of this movement when he told the Galway farmers that he would never have taken off his coat in this movement were it not one with Irish Nationality for its object. (Applause). . . . This organisation is not for the enfranchisement merely of the farmers, or the labourers, or the artisans, or the merchants—we are going for the freedom of the entire population of Ireland.” (Cheers.)

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at WATERFORD, October 21st, 1883.]

“The day when a particular class was allowed to sit in the legislature and declare that laws could be imposed which extracted from the toilers every penny they could earn had gone by. *A democracy was arising in England which would demand to know why one class of men should live in riot and luxury and upon the misery and toil of another class. When the poor men had the making of the laws instead of the rich men, justice would prevail* over the land, and every man would stand free upon a free soil.”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at LIMERICK ELECTION, 1883.]

“What did the men in the Liberties of Limerick want but to have their farm at a fair rent and the land for themselves and their children? After that he (Mr. Healy) would say that the people of this country never would be satisfied, and never ought to be satisfied, so long as a single penny of rent was paid for a sod of land in the whole of Ireland. The people would never achieve what they were looking for by any milk-and-water kind of business. If they wanted a proper policy carried out in the House of Commons they must elect determined men who had given earnest of their devotion of the National cause.”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at KILLUCAN, November 4th, 1883.]

“But the turn in the tide had set in, and before the wrath of an indignant people, landlordism and British domination was crumbling away. (Cheers.) A party was formed now, led on by a chief who was not afraid

to face the foremost champions of the Empire—(great cheering for Mr. Parnell)—and whatever benefits might have been won for Ireland by the assistance of those who had seconded his efforts, *Parnell was the point of the pike.*”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at DROGHEDA, November 18th, 1883.]

“Return honest men, and let them be as anxious to do so in municipal affairs as in Parliamentary, and they should then have every department of public life—Parliamentary, municipal, and poor-law—dovetailing each other, and working together like a hinge, until in the end their work would be crowned by a great Parliamentary party, headed by the most glorious chief Ireland had ever possessed, who would sweep from his path every obstacle to freedom, and take his place at the head of a Parliament sitting in ‘the Old House at Home.’”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at the PARNELL BANQUET,
December, 1883.]

“They (the Irish people) could still fire back blow for blow and hate for hate, and so by patient enduring they could hope to establish in this country an independent Parliament. . . . —determined to work out the end in view—the freedom of their grand old nation.”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P. Speech in House of Commons.]

“The Government would find face to face with them in Ireland men with no fear in their hearts, who would carry on to the bitter end the glorious struggle for Irish Nationality.”

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at NEWPORT, CO. MAYO, January,
1884.]

“The Government said, and others also said, the Land Act was a full and final settlement of the Land Question. All he would say was, ‘wait till after the next general election,’ and they would find out their mistake. They were able to enforce their rack-rents by means of the Crimes Act, and was it intended by the Government to make the Crimes Act perpetual in this country? (A voice—‘we won’t have it.’) How would these rack-rents be collected when the Crimes Act was no longer there? Because, as sure as the pressure of a bad harvest, or the renewed American competition came upon them, not ‘All the king’s horses and all the king’s men’ would be able to collect the rents which the Land Commissioners were now fixing upon the tenants of this country.” (Cheers).

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at MULLINGAR, June 1st, 1884.]

“Never since the passing of the *accursed Act of Union* had the hopes of the Irish people for independence been more likely than now to be accomplished. . . . The *passionate effervescence of the Land League movement* might have passed away, but it had at least left a good deal that was practical to follow it. (Applause.) They could not, of course, unfortunately, send the British Government out of this country by a *coup de main*. But while the mere effervescing characteristics of that time might have passed away, there still remained behind a solid determination to work at that movement in which they and their friends had struggled.” (Applause).

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at KILKENNY.]

“Let the people cast aside all personal dissensions, and let them have one enemy only, and that enemy the British Government.” (Cheers.)—*United Ireland, November 7th, 1885.*

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at CAPPAMORE, September 3rd, 1883.]

“Personally he had entered the English Parliament hating every stone in its place and every bone in its body, and he had seen no great reason to modify his regard for it; and he hoped he was not presumptuous in thinking the feeling was entirely mutual. But he told them candidly the more he saw the place the more he was amazed and delighted to find the power even a small phalanx of honest and determined men possessed in that house to check the arm of tyranny at home, and force the demand for Irish right and Irish freedom upon the attention and the recognition of England. . . . The plan of meeting the enemy on his own floor, and striking him with his own weapons, had not even yet got any fair trial at all. There was no reason why they should not have six dozen men pounding away at the work one dozen had been doing up to the present. . . . With such a party, he continued, working on the terrors, and the convenience, and the practical good sense of England—for the English were an eminently practical people, and had a mighty respect for people who knew their own minds—with such a party working unitedly under their far-seeing and indomitable leader, he was almost afraid to tell them how much he expected the next few years to bring forth in the way of material and National regeneration. (Cheers.) At the same time, he believed as strongly now as ever that it would be an evil day for Ireland

if all her eggs were put into the Parliamentary basket. *The Irish cause was the property of no particular party, and recognised no infallible policy.* ('Hear, hear.') Much depended on the Irish party in Parliament, but still more depended on the Irish people and the Irish race throughout the world."

[MR. WM. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at RATHDOWNEY, Nov. 26th, 1883.]

"Mr. Gladstone used to talk a great deal of the Church Establishment. Well, the Protestant Church Establishment was only as a gooseberry-bush to a forest tree compared to the upas tree of landlordism that had blighted Ireland, and drained away its life and substance. Mr. Gladstone did not go in for half measures when he was cutting down the upas tree of the Church Establishment. He did not go in for lopping a little branch here and there, giving a judicial lease for ever to an infamous system. That was the way he went at the Church, and let them believe him that if the people of Ireland do their duty, he would have to do the same thing with landlordism. He hoped their chairman would live to see the time when the landlords would do what the parsons have done already—compute, compound, and cut.

[MR. WM. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at LETTERKENNY.]

"If England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity, as it is (cheers). England's difficulties are at this moment crowding pretty thick upon her. (Cheers.) (A voice, 'The Mahdi is the boy for her.') Her trade is bad at home, and, as a voice behind me reminds me, her armies are not doing a bit too satisfactorily out in the country of that black gentleman, the Mahdi. (A voice, 'Three cheers for the Mahdi.') . . . All sorts of new democratic forces are rising up; and if you, the people of Donegal and the people of Ireland, only do your part here at home, as Mr. Parnell and the men who fight under his banner will try to do in that foreign Parliament in the citadel of the enemy, you will not have to wait long for the opportunity of vindicating the rights of Ireland, and driving famine and landlordism and English rule for ever from the shores of Ireland." (Loud cheers.)—*United Ireland*, February 21st, 1885.

[MR. WM. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at LETTERKENNY.]

"The English may howl until they are black in the face, but if they find that sort of thing (*i.e.* eternal and unquenchable war in the House of Commons with the tyrants of the Irish people) disagreeable for them, they

have two remedies, and two remedies alone. They must either suppress the representatives of Ireland altogether, and make up their minds to rule us for evermore with the naked sword—and the sword is sometimes a double-edged weapon—or else they will have to give us a Parliament of our own—(applause),—in which the will and the wants of the Irish people shall have full and free expression—in which their aspirations shall find satisfaction and contentment, and prosperity and freedom. . . . The time has come when the Irish people may occupy the same position between England and her foes as the Irish party occupy every night between the rival English parties in the House of Commons.”—*United Ireland*, March 7th, 1885.

[Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at TULLA.]

“We would be unworthy of our forefathers, we would deserve the scorn and contempt of those who come after us, if in this day of dawning hope and power for the Irish race we ever faltered or flinched until we have banished the twin demons of landlordism and English rule for ever from our shores, and until we plant upon the highest pinnacle of Dublin Castle the flag of a redeemed and regenerated Irish nation.” (Loud cheers.)—*United Ireland*, May 30th, 1885.

[Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at SHEFFIELD.]

“The cause of National Independence for Ireland is immortal and indestructible. It depends upon no man and no party, and if they should fail (but they would not) it would be taken up by other men in other times, who would fight it out, perhaps not as they were doing it in Parliament, but, perhaps, upon the hill-sides of Ireland. . . . Though they were not irreconcilable with the English people, they were, and for ever would remain, irreconcilable with English rule in Ireland.”—*United Ireland*, August 15th, 1885.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at DUBLIN.]

“The Irish in America would rather win Ireland's liberty on Ireland's hill-sides, but the Irish in America were generous, and they put themselves in their position. They saw that they were hemmed in by an overwhelming power of their enemies, and they were willing to wait yet awhile, and see whether Mr. Parnell and the Parliamentary party could achieve what they were struggling for.”—*Dublin Evening Mail*, September 9th, 1884.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., National League, DUBLIN.]

“The Irish in America wanted men not to falter in their expression and in their determination to make this country free, and they were perfectly willing to aid this country in any attempt to obtain self-government for Ireland, so long as the people of this country declared their determination never to cease agitation, and to use all the means in their power till they drove every man of English blood from every official position in this country.”—*Irish Times*, September 17th, 1884.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at the ROTUNDA, DUBLIN.]

“He was equally sure this meeting would bring consternation to the hearts of Ireland’s enemies; because it would show that, no matter how they might differ as to the methods to be used, they were all united in their hatred of England.” (Cheers.)—*United Ireland*, January 24th, 1885.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., in a Lecture at FERMOY.]

“There was this difference between Mr. Parnell’s party and all other parties, and it was to that difference that he attributed all the success which they had achieved. There was not a single man, from Mr. Parnell down to himself, who did not hate the Government of England with all the intensity and fervour of his heart.”—*United Ireland*, June 13th, 1885.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at GOREY.]

“They did not desire to have anything more to do with kings and queens, for the only style of government to which Irishmen could look for freedom and prosperity was one which would be democratic and republican.”—*Irish Times*, August 24th, 1885.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at BOHERNABREENA.]

“He believed that it was their duty to God as well as to their country, to do all that lay in their power to overthrow the domination of England. (Cheers.) Thanks to the influence of the God-sent Archbishop of that diocese, the Rev. Dr. Walsh, they had now the aid of the clergy in the struggle of the people for their freedom.” (Loud cheers).—*The Freeman’s Journal*, November 16th, 1885.

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., in HOUSE OF COMMONS, on
Franchise Bill.]

"I accept the Bill as far as it goes; but you need not think that it will have the effect of staying the agitation of a Separatist character which exists in Ireland, for if you give us this Bill, or twenty more Bills of the same description, we will never cease from that agitation until we fully obtain our object."

[Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P., at ENNIS, October 19th, 1880.]

"Now, one word in conclusion. There are people in this country who are foolish enough to think that if the farmers of Ireland were made secure in their holdings, if they were made comfortable and happy, they would forget the National cause of Ireland. That slander has been uttered upon the tenant-farmers, who are the bone and sinew of the Irish race. Here to-day I denounce it as a slander—(cheers)—and if I could believe that story for a single minute I never would stand upon a land platform. But, my friends, I have a different opinion of the Irish race, and my belief is this, that as you make them strong, as you clothe them and feed them, and raise their hearts to a true perception of what the condition of the people should be—according as you educate them, and according as their young people grow up about them, reading and thinking and learning for themselves the history of their country and the history of the world, stronger and stronger will grow the spirit of Irish Nationality in the hearts of the people." ("Hear, hear," and "Bravo.")

[Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P., at MULLINGAR, June 1st, 1884.]

"They would never lay down their arms till the full measure of their rights was conceded. . . . Again, it was said that as soon as the National party got 80 or 90 Parnellites into Parliament, the next thing would be the *repeal of the Union*. ('Hear, hear.') To those who made that objection he would reply, '*Right you are, old boy.*' (Cheers and laughter.) Of course that was the next thing the Irish popular party would look out for, and strive to attain, for when the Irish people became strong, independent, and prosperous in their own land, they would no longer submit to the yoke of British slavery—('hear, hear')—and the National party would never rest content till they achieved for Ireland its full measure of National rights, and got back once more for their country a native Parliament in the Irish capital, to take charge of the interests and watch over the destinies of the Irish people." (Loud applause.)

[Mr. R. POWER, M.P., at WATERFORD, September 9th, 1883.]

“He wished it to be clearly and distinctly understood that they were not prepared to accept any compromise of their National rights. No milk-and-water measure would now satisfy this country; no committee of Irish members to legislate upon fisheries and railways; no grand and extended corporations. No: they would accept an Irish Parliament or they would accept nothing. It would be better the people of Ireland should wait for a hundred years rather than they should lower their flag and accept anything else than a Parliament of their own. (Applause.) There were men whose contracted minds led them to believe that they would see the realisation of England’s delirious dream—namely, Ireland a pasture-farm for the manufacturers of England; but there were yet left minds to work and hearts to beat for Ireland, and as long as there was a particle of manhood left in this land, so long would they struggle for the rights and liberties of Ireland.”

[Mr. RICHARD POWER, M.P., at WATERFORD,
November 16th, 1885.]

“The result of his experience was to make him endeavour to sweep away from the country every vestige of alien rule—(cheers)—and he could safely say that the Irish cause had advanced more within the past three years than within any period of our existence. The issue between England and Ireland is plain and simple. We must govern ourselves, and be on friendly terms with England, or she must govern us, and we must be her implacable enemies.”

[Mr. J. J. O’KELLY, M.P., at NEWCASTLE, October 16th, 1883.]

“A union based on bayonets,” he continued, “was a union that might disappear at any moment. Napoleon, who was a clever fellow in his way, said they could do anything with bayonets except sit upon them. (Laughter.) Well, he would tell those English gentlemen who thought that Ireland could be kept under by bayonets that they made a sad mistake. No doubt under certain conditions the English could hold their own. The English told them that the right to rule themselves was the best and greatest gift that could be given to a free people. Yet almost in the same breath the English told them they would put the Irish down

by force. Very well. That was the answer that Austria used to make to Hungary. But *Sadowa came!* *Did they think that the last Sadowa had been fought?* *Do they think that there would be no more Sadowas?* Any man who thought so was likely to be mistaken. (Loud applause.) An Empire which was based upon force, which imposed itself upon the people by mere physical force, was in an unfortunate position and committed a great blunder. When they had the opportunity of reconciling the people to the Government by making just concessions they lost the opportunity by not doing it in time. Anyhow they had reached that stage when it would be difficult for that Government to control Ireland in future as she did in the past. (Applause.) The political forces which the Irish would be enabled to exert against her Parliament would make it an unprofitable undertaking for her, and he hoped they would be enabled to create in the minds of the English people the conviction that the future well-being of Ireland itself necessitated the restoration to that country of the right to make her own laws."

[Mr. J. J. O'KELLY, M.P., at SHEFFIELD.]

"He doubted if the Russian Government was half as much hated and detested in Poland as the English Government is in Ireland. ('Hear, hear.') Instead of being the means of separating the two countries and driving them apart, Home Rule, if wisely granted, and in time—(cheers)—would be the means of binding the Empire together. But if Englishmen were unwise enough to endeavour to continue the rule under which Ireland suffered, the seeds would be sown for the destruction of the Empire. (Cheers.) England would have to face one of two things—to give Ireland Home Rule, or the question of the separation of the two countries." (Cheers.)—*United Ireland, October 3rd, 1885.*

[Mr. DILLON, M.P., at DUBLIN LAND LEAGUE, October 14th, 1881.]

"One insult (the arrest of Mr. Parnell) heaped upon their leader by a nation of cowards strengthened *the feeling which was ever present to his mind* in favour of striking off the union with England."

[Mr. DILLON, M.P., at HOLYFORD, October 19th, 1886.]

"This is the cause which every Irishman can go into, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, whether he be a Nationalist or not. It is a cause

which the Irish Nationalist can go into, because its object is to break down and defeat the English garrison which holds this country for England. Its object is to clear the path for Irish Nationality by emancipating all the people of Ireland from the control of English landlordism, and settling them in their own homes as free men."

[Mr. J. J. CLANCY, M.P., at CLONDALKIN, CO. DUBLIN.]

"He did not think the Co. Dublin had done its duty to the National cause. What had they done to show that English rule was hated in Ireland, and to show that until the Irish National flag floated over a free Parliament in College Green there would be no peace or contentment in Ireland?"—*United Ireland*, February 8th, 1885.

[Mr. J. J. CLANCY, M.P., at the ROTUNDA, DUBLIN.]

"Putting minor questions out of sight for the moment, they go first, and above all, for the extinction of British rule in this island—(cheers)—and the re-establishment in its integrity of Irish legislative independence; and no man, be his personal character ever so high, need ever hope to be officer of theirs, who did not himself desire that consummation in his heart, and is not willing to take off his coat and work for it, and, if necessary, to suffer for it."—*Irish Times*, October 14th, 1885.

[Rev. E. SHEEHY, C.C., at CHICAGO, December, 1882.]

"I want to tell you here to-night that we face landlordism, and aim at its utter destruction, but only as a stepping-stone and as a means to a greater and a higher end. . . . If your memory required any more vivid pictures to remind you of, to convince you, how hateful and hideous a thing landlordism is in Ireland—you know how it has clothed the Irish people in rags—but I have to remind you, too, that it is landlordism which has helped to load Ireland with chains. We will not be content with casting off the rags, we shall break our chains likewise—and I for one will not be content to hurl the broken links at the feet of our tyrant. I would fain give expression to the hope that has been the vow of ages—that we act more with unity and solidity, and drive them at the very heart of our enemy. In France landlordism was swept down and crushed utterly into powder by the armed hand of revolution. (A voice, 'That's what we must do.') If any gentleman will undertake the commission he will have my blessing."

[Mr. J. E. REDMOND, M.P., at OLDHAM.]

"They must be satisfied with nothing less than Ireland governed by an Irish Parliament, elected by the Irish people alone, and responsible to them alone."—*United Ireland*, July 4th, 1885.

[Mr. JOHN DEASY, M.P., at NEWBRIDGE.]

"They could not regret any difficulty in which England might find herself placed. (Cheers). For instance, Irishmen could look upon the struggle in Egypt with comparative indifference, except that their sympathies lay altogether with those people who are fighting upon their own soil for their own independence." ("Cheers for the Madhi," and cries "That he may succeed.")—*United Ireland*, February 21st, 1885.

[Mr. JOHN DEASY, M.P., in DUBLIN, January 19th, 1886.]

"The Irish party were entering upon this Session of Parliament with the utmost confidence, as they knew they had a united, determined, and an organised people behind them. They would not abate one jot of their demands, nor accept anything from either of the English parties—unless indeed, as a means to an end—except the rights that belong to them."

[Mr. A. O'CONNOR, M.P., at MARYBOROUGH, October 7th, 1883.]

"The land agitation was only a means to an end, and that end was the re-establishment of the people as an independent nation, with the destinies of the country in their hands, so that they should be able to say to England, or to any other power that attempted to dominate the country. 'Hands off; we can manage our own affairs!'"

[Mr. E. LEAMY, M.P., at CLONMEL, October 24th, 1880.]

"The three great obstacles to the National independence of Ireland were the Catholic disabilities, 1829; the Protestant ascendancy, until the disestablishment in 1870; and the third and last great obstacle was this foreign system of land tenure. Let them get rid of this obstacle, and then would be the time for willing hands to rear up the stately edifice of Irish independence."

[Mr. T. SEXTON, M.P., at DUBLIN LAND LEAGUE, Oct. 14th, 1881.]

“I will not mince my words, and I say that the one prevailing and unchangeable passion between Ireland and England is the passion of hate.”

[Mr. T. SEXTON, M.P., at the PARNELL BANQUET,
December, 1883.]

“Hatred of oppression was a holy thing, and no rule was more deserving of hatred as an oppressive one than England’s rule of Ireland. . . . The people of Ireland had learned that they must fight the Government foot to foot, and that they must pursue a policy of retaliation and give back blow for blow.”

[MICHAEL DAVITT, at BALLINASLOE, November 11th, 1883.]

“He (Mr. Davitt) stood on the side of the people, and while he and the people were willing to accept household suffrage as an instalment of justice, he held that their right was the broader and *more comprehensive measure of universal suffrage*—(cheers)—and he was glad to find by their approving cheers that that was their opinion also. (Cheers.) All the *manhood* of Ireland, all its patriotic young men, were not in the possession of households, and household suffrage would not give to them the constitutional right to which every man was entitled. (Cheers.) What might be the programme of Mr. Gladstone’s Administration mattered nothing to him. (‘Hear, hear.’) *If they were willing to give Ireland household suffrage, they would not hold it back because the people demanded universal suffrage.* . . . The landlords might think, owing to the present lull in the movement, that the fight was over, and that the Land Act would save their system from abolition. As well might they think that the receding tide would never again sweep across the silver strand which it momentarily leaves behind. By-and-by there would come sweeping across the face of these three countries a wave of agitation which would efface the very landmarks of land monopoly, and leave no other trace of Irish landlordism but the historic record of its existence. (Loud cheers.) Why did he predict so confidently that their movement would soon triumph over the forces of landlordism and Castle rule? Because across

the Irish Sea they observed the English democracy demanding the same social rights as the people of Ireland had thundered forth from a thousand platforms during the last three or four years. The people of England were beginning to understand the selfishness of Irish landlordism, and when the thirty millions of people who lived by honest toil in the three countries discovered that there was one lazy, good-for-nothing, aristocratic landlord class—(cheers),—*which neither webs nor spins*, but lives in idle luxury upon the sweat and labour of everybody else ; when the discovery was fully made in England and Scotland, the Irish landlords would have to look to themselves for resources and power to defend them in their unjust position in Ireland, because the democracy of Great Britain would no longer uphold their unjust and plundering system. Why, then, should they halt in the struggle to overturn, by honourable and Constitutional means, the system that has worked such evil to their fatherland? Every incentive that could stir the people on in the glorious cause implored them to go forward, and not to be satisfied with miserable tinkering Land Acts, which did not confer any benefit worth mentioning upon any class in Ireland but the landlords.”

[MR. JOHN BARRY, M.P., at KILDARE, April 14th, 1884.]

“The agitation, in its more *open and determined* shape, they might not be able to carry on so well in the future, but if they supplied its place with a good, well-disciplined organisation, they would at all times be prepared, as opportunity offered, to advance a step in the National struggle.”

[MR. MATTHEW HARRIS, M.P., at ATHY, June 1st, 1884.]

“Mr. Parnell said at Drogheda—there was no use disguising the fact—they must either pay for the land or fight for it. Well, the Nationality of a country could not be purchased, and there was only one way of obtaining it. (Applause.) He was not such an idiot as to say that they would rush forward with empty hands, or under adverse circumstances, or against very great odds; nor did he say they should fight for the liberty of the country under any form of circumstances, *for they had a Government reporter on the platform.*”

[MR. THOMAS MAYNE, M.P., at LOUGHMORE, CO. TIPPERARY.]

“The Emperor of Austria granted independence to Hungary, and to-day it was the backbone of the Austrian Empire. It was impossible for Ireland not to hope for similar results from the conflict between England and her present foes. So sure as England went to war with Russia, so sure would she be defeated. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) England would have to ask herself what was the weakness in her Empire which placed her at the feet of the autocratic Czar. Ireland was her weakness, which tied her best arm behind her back.”—*United Ireland*, May 2nd, 1885.

[REV. MR. CANTWELL, P.P., V.F., DUBLIN NATIONAL LEAGUE,
September 23rd, 1886.]

“With regard to the closing sentence of Mr. Parnell’s appeal to America with regard to the Irish tenants, I will say that *all our action* with regard to this intermediary question of the landlords and tenants *is only a step towards the great goal of Irish Nationality*—towards the establishment of our native Parliament here—it is only then that we will be able to point to a peaceable and united Ireland.” (Applause.)

[From *The Irishman*, January 12th, 1884.]

“While we are waiting for an opportunity to free ourselves, we can materially assist other nations to maintain their freedom. We are in a position to do even more than this; we can act an auxiliary part in favour of any great Power that chooses to declare war against Great Britain. Even Russia could count on the friendship of Ireland, should she decide upon trying conclusions with our enemy. Our hand is for all nations opposed to England. As our adversary has done unto us, so are we ready to do unto her, when opportunity offers. The knowledge of this unfaltering purpose endows us with an influence upon the foreign schemes of England. If our antagonist wants to go to war abroad, she must take Ireland into account as against her. In the meantime, it is satisfactory to learn that we have it in our power to aid in maintaining the independence of Egypt.”

[From *United Ireland*, February 9th, 1884.]

"All hail to this most excellent Moslem. The more we hear of him the better we like him. . . . We trust that our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing with specie towards Khartoum, has met with the same handling as Baker. Nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi, and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo. That the hand of Providence should fall heavily on the British for their unrighteous war must make every heart in Europe rejoice."

ON BOYCOTTING.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at GALWAY, September 14th, 1884.]

"I say that a man who commits such a crime against his neighbour as taking a little plot of land that had been made profitable by the sweat of that neighbour's hands, and by that of his predecessors, is as much a thief in the sight of Heaven as if he had put his hand into your pocket. If he takes it when the previous tenant had been unjustly evicted for the payment of a rack-rent, it is not because British law gives power to a man to rob and plunder that you are therefore to make yourselves parties in the robbery, and are not as guilty as the landlord himself."—*Freeman*, September 15th, 1884.

[Mr. JOSEPH BIGGAR, M.P., at Land League, Autumn, 1880.]

"Now you would not be justified—I can tell you this—in threatening the herd of a big grazier, you would not be justified in using any personal violence towards him; but, as I have told you, you would be justified, and thoroughly justified, in trying to persuade him to leave the occupation which he then followed, and try to get one which would be less injurious to his neighbours. (Cheers.) If this herd would refuse to take the laudable advice of his neighbours, why then other means might be used.

For instance, the shopkeepers in the village might cease to supply him with the things he requires; he might get no assistance in any of his difficulties, and his position would become so intolerable that he would probably give up that occupation. Then, when the matter had gone so far, of course it would be inconvenient for the landlord to look after his cattle himself. (Laughter and cheers.) Well then, you know, when there is no one to look after the cattle, if by any means—of course I have told you before that above all things you should not attempt to maim or injure the cattle of anyone, because no one could defend conduct of that sort—but I tell you what I might say on this subject, that there is no law, human or divine, that would force you to look after this man's cattle if you were not in his employ; and if you found the cattle straying on the road it really would be nothing criminal to avoid taking any notice of the cattle. (Laughter.) Then again, my friends, suppose the stone fences—any of the stone fences along the roadside—were broken down, and the holes were in them, of course you would not be called upon at all to repair these fences, and you would not be called upon to point out to this landlord—who is doing such incalculable injury to the country—to point out to him that that injury had taken place in his fence.” (Laughter.)

[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at CHICAGO, December 3rd, 1881.]

“The landlord has not got any rent from the ten thousand who are ejected from his farms, and he is not going to get any rent. What becomes of the ten thousand farms meantime? We will put the tenants as near those farms as we possibly can; and if I were an agent for an insurance society I would not like to have my whole organisation and corporation dependent on the ten thousand farmers who will go into the farms that the other ten thousand have been evicted from.”—*Nation*, January 7th, 1881.

[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI,
February, 1882.]

“The Land League binds members not to enter land from which another has been evicted, and I am proud to say out of 600,000 not twelve traitors have been found. I declare I should like to have an insurance policy on the life of the man who would take possession of an evicted farm. . . . We have changed the whole tide of history, and a new epoch has dawned for Ireland. The landlords are all driven out, and the aliens will follow as soon as we can manage.”—*United Ireland*, February 11th, 1882.

[Mr. T. HARRINGTON, M.P., Secretary, National League, at DUBLIN,
August 24th, 1886.]

“The time had come when they must show that they are not branches of the League in name, but branches of the League in reality. The time had come when they must boldly enter into the fight; and when a tenant was struck down in the war, they must gather round him, and they must do everything in their power to give him encouragement and assistance. They must see that if men were evicted and cast out of their holdings on the world, that if men are singled out for eviction by the landlords because they stood in defence of their brothers, they must see that if the land from which these men were evicted be touched by any person on God’s earth but the rightful proprietors, it shall be a curse instead of a blessing (loud applause). . . . It was plainly the duty of the people to combine in their own defence (cheers); and if the people go into this struggle with consciousness of their strength, he had not the slightest doubt that they would come out of the struggle victors. . . . He had no hesitation in saying that any body of tenants who would approach a landlord to buy their holdings until all the evicted tenants on the property were reinstated would be acting in the most shameful manner, and would be a perfect disgrace to the tenantry of Ireland.” (Applause.)—*Freeman’s Journal*, August 25th, 1886.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at KILDARE, 15th August, 1880.]

“The country should be so well organised that every farmer should belong to a branch of the Land League, and the young farmers should be prepared to march to the meetings, and in proper order too (cheers). And when they had that organisation perfected, let the word go out that no farm from which any man had been evicted should be touched or used for human purposes until its rightful owner was put back upon the soil (cheers). In the County of Mayo, where the organisation was now pretty strong, they had many farms lying idle from which landlords could draw no rent, because they had evicted tenants from them; nor if the landlord put cattle on them would the cattle prosper very much. They must teach the landlords that if they evicted tenants they would not be the richer, but the poorer. The people should be invited to join the Land League, and if anyone refused to do so his neighbours would know that he had turned his back upon the people.”

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at TULLA, 24th May, 1885.]

"I am sorry to observe by one of your resolutions that the land-grabber is a species of reptile that is not yet quite extinct; but whenever I find a land-grabber still poisoning the air, I generally find it is rather the fault of the people than the law, because I defy all the Crimes Acts that ever were passed to prevent the people from making a land-grabber—a man who steals his neighbour's farm and cuts his neighbour's throat—to make him feel that he is an outcast and the object of scorn, and contempt, and loathing in the sight of his neighbour. They may prevent you from calling it Boycotting, but Boycotting by another name is just as effectual a process."—*Freeman*, April 25th, 1885.

[Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P., quoted at State Trials.]

"If you stand to each other like brothers, if you follow the advice that has been given to you here to-day, leave these farms to grow thistles and rushes, and if anyone is base enough to go into them, shun him. (A voice, 'Shoot him.') Let him be as an outcast amongst you, and his life will be a life of shame, a life of misery; and the shame will attach not only to himself, but to his children and his children's children.—*Irish Times*, January 1st, 1881.

[Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, M.P., at BORRIS, April 6th, 1885.]

"He would tell the man who dealt with any of the aiders and abettors of land-grabbing at Graignemana (great groaning for the land-grabber), he should tell that man that he was an impudent humbug; he should tell that man that he deserved to be Boycotted in his own circle. (Cheers.) If that man had to confess that, after the eviction of a poor farmer in the neighbourhood of Borris for the non-payment of an impossible rent, he went to the wretched shop-keeping landlord for the farm of the evicted man, or if he had to confess that he supplied money to enable others to do that infamous act, he would say that that man was a scoundrel and a traitor, and deserved to be treated as such by his neighbours." (Applause).

Freeman, April 7th, 1885.

[Dr. KENNY, M.P.]

"Boycotting, as sanctioned by the League, was only Boycotting directed against the one great evil—land-grabbing; and it meant merely letting severely alone—no active violence."

[The Rev. Mr. DUGGAN, C.C., at CROSSPATRICK, CO. KILKENNY,
August 31st, 1884.]

“He could not, of course, recommend them to Boycott them (*i.e.*, the land-agents and bailiffs), because the Crimes Act was in being now, but he would tell them what they could do—they were not bound to walk with them, or to marry them, but he would tell them what they were bound to do in charity, they were bound to bury them. . . . There was a place from which the tenants had been evicted, and now there were two hundred acres of fine land—all the farms, he might say, had been amalgamated into one, and they were the greatest benefit to the country. The ditches along the road had been levelled, and all the people in the country were sending in their horses, cows, and asses, and the cattle of the country were so habituated to the spot now that if they were let loose on the road five miles off they would take to it. Let them look at the brute beasts setting them an example, and combining with them to make their cause victorious. Just as if they could reason, and as if they had said, ‘We will go on to this ; it is the sweetest, because we are not paying a penny for it.’”—*Freeman*, *September 1st*, 1884.

[Mr. R. LALOR, M.P., at CAHIR, CO. TIPPERARY, September 20th,
1885.]

“They had landgrabbers at almost all periods of the world’s history. In ancient times they were a curse. If they looked in the Scriptures they would find them denounced by the Lord Almighty Himself. If they looked to the 21st chapter of the Book of Kings, they would find the name of a landgrabber handed down to the present day—one that would be handed down to the day of judgment. His name was Ahab, and he coveted the land of his neighbour Naboth. He offered to buy it, but Naboth, who, like many of those whom he saw there that day, did not want to exchange for money the land of their fathers. His wife, Jezebel, flouted and insulted him when he came back, and asked was he a fool, or what sort of a ruler he was to be defeated by a farmer like Naboth. She said she would soon get the land of honest Naboth. She, therefore, summoned a packed jury who were her own magistrates, and called upon Naboth to answer for crimes which were laid to his charge by suborned witnesses or informers, whom the Bible called sons of the devil, and he believed every word in the Bible to be true. On the evidence of these perjured informers poor Naboth was condemned and stoned to death, and the dogs licked his blood. The landgrabber Ahab had proved, as most

such men do, that he was a hypocrite, and he was killed afterwards in battle, and the dogs licked his blood. In this he was justly judged by heaven." (Cheers.).—*Freeman*, *September 21st*, 1885.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE SECRETARY ON THE USE AND MISUSE OF BOYCOTTING.

"IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE,

"43, O'Connell Street, Upper,

"Dublin, September 7th, 1886.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received this day by post, from Very Rev. Dr. Kavanagh, a brief statement of a case that has been discussed at your branch in reference to the communication said to be held by Mrs. Fitzgerald with emergency-men.

"I think your branch would do well to accept the apology that has been offered in this case, and not to take up the discussion of petty transgressions of this kind, standing upon doubtful testimony. The branch should be very slow to move in the consideration of questions of this kind, and when it does move the evidence should be strong and conclusive, and the offence alleged should be an offence calculated to give material assistance of some kind to the Emergency Association. Mere casual conversation or an incidental meeting is not a matter which should be brought in to disturb the branch of the National League.

"I also observe that an effort has been made by your branch to take into consideration the question of rents of tenants in towns, and there would seem to be some identification between the committee of the branch and the committee of a House League. Now, I have to caution your branch that any motion taken by the House League must be altogether distinct and separate from the work of the National League. We can allow no intimate connection between them—one is purely a local question, upon both sides of which some of our best friends may possibly be; the other is a National question, and (as Mr. Parnell recently expressed to me in conversation), unlike the House League, appeals for National sympathy.

"We can have no objection to a House League being formed for the redress of grievances of householders in any particular town, but neither the funds nor the organisation of the National League can in any way be claimed for it, and we must have to dissolve any branch that lends itself to the purpose.—Yours truly,

"T. HARRINGTON.

"Mr. W. P. Talbot, Hon. Sec., I. N. League, Kildare."

(*From Leinster Leader*, *Saturday*, *October 9th*, 1886.)

SPECIMENS OF PROCEDURE *re* BOYCOTTING

"DUNMANUS.—Here the spirit is in nowise abated, and continued persecution is exercised towards persons hostile to the National League. As an instance of the inhumanity of the League, I may mention that a man who is well known in the district for the persecution he has suffered, and whose wife is now dying, if not already dead, was informed by her friends that the League would not allow her to be visited while alive, but in the event of her death would give leave to attend her wake and funeral; and although living within a short distance of her mother and a large family of brothers and sisters, none dare to visit her lest they might incur the displeasure of the League."

"CASTLELYONS AND RATHCORMAC.—A new phase of the Boycotting system has been developed here, a reward having been publicly offered for information against anyone who is courageous enough to disobey the orders of the League. The following is a copy of the notice referred to:—

"£5 Reward.—Shopkeepers, farmers, tradesmen, car-owners, and labourers, are strictly requested to have no dealings of any kind with the following persons, viz.:—That writ-serving little despot O'Riordan, solicitor, of the firm of O'Riordan & Mandeville, at Fermoy and Mitchelstown, and the clique who are assisting him in his dirty work; Captain St. Leger Barry, his agent, T. Ryall, and his two sons, John and Robert Ryall. The above reward will be paid to any person who shall give such information as shall lead to the detection of the backsliders and others who are assisting the above-named in their felonious landlordism. God save Ireland."

"In addition, Mr. Ryall's labourers have been served with notices to leave his employment, signed 'Captain Moonlight,' and, as a consequence, some have left, but arrangements are made to send him men or any assistance he may require, and a number of lambs have been sold for him by your English agents."

"KANTURK.—This district does not seem improved. One man writes me—'I beg to inform you that the Boycotting is still practised towards me, and I fear likely to continue until the Government proclaim or put down the League, whose laws are the only laws acknowledged here. As you are aware, I am under police protection, and were they withdrawn, I am persuaded my existence in this world would be very short indeed. I have not attended Mass for over twelve months, and it was only to-day that I heard of Boycotting notices found posted at the chapel, threatening a woman in the locality, whose only offence was attending my daughter-in-law in her confinement.'"

And these are only three cases selected from a mass of instances.

[REV. MR. CANTWELL, P.P., V.F., at National League, DUBLIN.]

“Well, now, gentlemen, there will be no great things gained without *a stiff fight*, and the lines I would suggest to the tenantry to follow would be these—to stick together, and to be true to one another. The second point would be, of course, to hold to the lines that kept the agitation up so far—that *no one would take a farm from which another had been evicted*. (Applause.) I insist upon the point that should that cardinal virtue of the programme be observed that no landlord, no matter who he is, will be able to secure a substitute for the tenant ; and I would say, in the second place, that *should any neighbour or pretended friend of the country so far forget the national principles, and end and object, as to come and aid the landlord by taking possession of those farms, that his neighbours will pass him by unnoticed, and treat him as an enemy in their midst*.” (Applause).—*Freeman's Journal*, September 29th, 1886.

ON LANDLORDISM AND THE RENT QUESTION IN GENERAL.

[MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P., on the coming “No-Rent” Manifesto.]

“And he would tell them what the League would do if the landlord refused justice to the people for another six months of the year. When they should have enrolled 300,000 members of the League, if the landlords should persist in refusing the moderate demands of the people, they would give out the word to the people of Ireland to strike against rent altogether, and pay no more until justice was done to them. (Cheers). With 300,000 Irishmen enrolled as members of the Land League, all the armies of England would not levy rent in this country. (Loud cheers). And then they would ask harder terms from the landlords. In the meantime the representatives of the people could paralyse the hand of Government and prevent them from passing laws that would throw the people into prison for organising themselves. They could obstruct the passing of coercive laws, and set the people free to drill themselves and organise themselves. They could take it out of the power of the police to arrest any man who was out after eight o'clock at night. They would see that Irishmen had a right to be out after eight o'clock, and all the night through if they thought fit. (Cheers). They had a right to march to their meetings and to obey the commands of their leaders, if they chose to do so. They would see that every man in Ireland had a right to have a rifle if he liked.” (Cheers).—*Nation*, August 21st, 1880.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P. Quotation at State Trials.]

“Let the farmers go in a body to the agent, or landlord, or steward, and tell him what they consider is a fair value for their farms—tell him that they will give him that, and not one penny more, and that if he won’t take that, then to do his worst.”—*Irish Times*, January 4th, 1881.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in the House of Commons.]

“Not being an Irish farmer himself, he did not know what view they took exactly with regard to evictions, but he might be allowed to say in the House, that if he was an Irish farmer, and that a body of men came to turn him out of his house and land, he should decidedly shoot as many of them as he could manage to do, and take the consequences. He believed if the farmers took that course evictions would soon come to an end in Ireland. . . . He had been accused, as he had already said, of advising the Irish people to procure rifles. The Home Secretary might quote a dozen speeches in which he had given the same advice. He did it for this reason—that he considered that if the Irish landlords had the knowledge that in every farmer’s dwelling there was a rifle, it might exercise some check upon their depredations. . . . The Irish people had not the means of waging civil war. He wished they had.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, March 4th, 1881.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at a Meeting of the Central Land League,
DUBLIN.]

“He had been accused in the House of Commons of saying an unjust thing when he said the blood which was recently shed in attempts of the kind was on their head, but he left it to reasonable men, what could they expect if they sought to drive five or ten thousand desperate men out of their homes? Who was to blame if these men would not consent to be driven out like rats without fighting? He had heard it openly stated by the people that they would not do it this time, that they would show fight, and if they were to go out they would knock some people over before they went. He would mention a case which did not get into the newspapers. The other day an eviction was going to be carried out in his county. Forty police came to carry it out. They found the door barricaded. The priest stood by and said he would not interfere, but he thought it right to inform the police that the first blow they struck, five or six would be shot, as the men were inside with loaded rifles. The police held a consultation, and went back to Nenagh. If evictions were carried out on a large scale

in Tipperary the police must be prepared for fight or resistance; the people would resist, and the next time a man was shot in Ireland for refusing to leave his home peaceably, the verdict would be, if he were not very much deceived in the temper of the people, wilful murder, not against the policeman who shot him, but against Gladstone and Forster, who sent him there." (Applause).—*Nation*, May, 7th 1881.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at NATIONAL LEAGUE, Sept., 28th 1886.]

"What I want to assert is this, in reference to Lord Ashbourne's Act—it will be our business to see that wherever an Irish tenant purchases his farm that he makes fair terms with the landlord—that he purchases on the basis of fair rents at a reasonable number of years—that he, in fact, buys at a price such as will make the instalments repayable to the Government fair and reasonable, payments that will enable him to live like an honest man, and that will not leave the country, when the Irish landlords have escaped off with their share of the booty, to be disgraced and bankrupt before the world." (Applause).—*Freeman's Journal report*.

[Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at the National League in DUBLIN.]

"He said that this gentleman (Mr. John Adye Curran, Q.C., one of the principal of those who were instrumental in bringing the Phoenix Park murderers to justice) had been inflamed with the ambition of taking a part in the pacification of Kerry; but he (Mr. Dillon) thought it would have been better for himself if he had confined himself to his original obscurity. He got largely rewarded for his services—more largely than they deserved. ('Hear, hear.') The country was beginning to forget him, Irishmen not being vindictive; but he must now, forsooth, come down to join General Buller with the sophistry of the law in supporting Kerry landlords in the robbery of their tenants. (Groans.) He, for his part, wished to say, that as long as this system was continued by the soldier and the lawyer he would do his best to expose the tricks of the one and the brutality of the other." (Applause).—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13th, 1886.

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., on Hunting Landlords, at CARRICK-ON-SUIR, September 7th, 1884.]

"If they must have hunting at all, let them keep their hands in practice by hunting landlords. (Cheers). Hunt them up hill and down

dale, until landlords are as scarce as the foxes it is now their desire to rear and protect. (Cheers). . . . Let them go on, let them organise, let them pull together, until the sight of a landlord will be as rare an animal as the wolf. He urged them to avoid a land-grabber just as they would any fox-hunting landlord."—*Irish Times*, September 8th, 1884.

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., on Prairie Rents, at BANSHA,
Co. TIPPERARY, February 8th, 1885.]

"Organise every parish in this county ; cast out dissensions from amongst you ; banish all local squabbles for the sake of our great cause : stand together shoulder to shoulder like comrades in a great campaign ; remember, that if our struggle is a long and hard one, the rewards and prizes of victory are very great ; prairie rents for the farmers ; less than prairie rents, if possible, for the labourers (cheers) ; for all of us, a free and happy Irish nation, disenthralled from the long sufferings of centuries, invigorated and illumined with the sacred energy of National independence." (Loud and prolonged applause.)—*United Ireland*, February 14th, 1885.

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., on the Abolition of Landlordism, at
GOREY, August 23rd, 1885.]

"When the complete programme of the Land League is accomplished, landlordism would vanish from the country, and the soil of Ireland would be free, its people owning no master but the Almighty, and owning no flag but the *green flag of an independent* Irish nation."—*Irish Times*, August 24th, 1885.

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., on Tenants Striking Back, at ATHLONE,
September 27th, 1885.]

"He (Mr. Parnell) has counselled peace for this winter ; but Mr. Parnell will only be a peacemaker up to a certain point. There is a point beyond which neither Mr. Parnell nor all the policemen who ever wore green coats put together could restrain the Irish people from striking back at landlordism—when it threatens their lives and their homes." (Cheers). . . . "We offer them peace, but we are quite ready for war (cheers), and whatever we lose, we have less to lose than they have, anyway."—*United Ireland*, October 3rd, 1885.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., on Landlordism as the Prop of English Rule, at BOSTON.]

“I say that the property of the Irish landlords deserves to be abolished more than the property of slaveholders deserved to be wiped out by the sign manual of Abraham Lincoln. We believe that landlordism is the prop of English rule, and we are working to take that prop away. To drive out British rule from Ireland we must strike at the foundation, and that foundation is landlordism.”—*Irishman*, December 24th, 1881.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., on the No Rent Manifesto, in TEXAS, January, 1882.]

“The landlord press of America attack this (the No Rent Manifesto) but let them compare it with the tea incident in Boston Harbour. Now it is rank treason. They raised the cry, ‘no freedom, no tribute;’ we raise the cry, ‘no liberty, no rent.’ What was the cry of liberty in Boston one hundred years ago becomes the cry of Communism in Ireland to-day Landlordism is the prop of the British Government, and it is that we want to kick away. The struggle is for Irish liberty, and landlordism stands between us and the glorious sunlight.”—*Unites Ireland*, January 28th, 1882.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., on Tenants’ Procedure at MEETING of NATIONAL LEAGUE, June 13th, 1883.]

“He would never again be a party to recommending an estate to strike for a reduction of rents until every man on the estate had put down a year’s rent, and banked it in the name of his parish priest or some local leader of the National party.”—*Freeman*, June 15th, 1883.

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., on Lord Bantry, &c., at GLENGARIFF, September 12th, 1885.]

“Lord Bantry, who owns every foot of ground as far as the eye can reach, is a person who was drummed out of the British army for disgraceful conduct—a person of such low and miserable disposition that, having enlisted as a private in the Guards, he had to be expelled by the Commander-in-Chief for being a ruffian. . . . It was very hard to say in that part of the district if the big ruffians or the little ruffians were the worst—Lord Bantry, the expelled soldier, who had ‘bad character’ branded on his arm, if they could only get him to tuck up his sleeve, or

Mr. White, who wrung from a miserable population at Esknowhena something like £200 a year. . . . He would now come to another of the satellites who were the revolving moons of the Glengariff firmament, Lord Kenmare, and his agent Barrett. Now it was hard to say which of these was worse than the other. . . . He would ask the Government of the country, if they wanted peace in this island, to think for a moment that there could be no contentment so long as landlords and agents of this description were allowed to harass the people."

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., on Funding the Rent and on Outrages, at ERRIGAL, TRUAGH, October 4th, 1885.]

"He could tell the landlords, however, that if they carried on the evictions there would be outrages. Because, as surely as smoke follows fire, so surely, if they light the torch of destruction, and set it to the houses of the poor, will the poor rely on the arm of justice where the Government fails to protect them. The landlords at the present time said they could not afford to give any further reductions; they said if they made any further reductions they could not live. Well, let them die. If the landlords again had the campaign of evictions, what the Nationalist leaders would have to recommend was this: that the half million of tenant-farmers of Ireland should put up their rents into one common fund, and instead of paying it to the landlords to pay it to trustees. They would then have a sum of six or seven or ten millions of money as a campaign fund—a war-chest—to fight the battle with—(cheers)—and he believed if the landlords saw that the people had even a single million of money to fight with, while they themselves had been delivered of their rents, they should speedily give in and kick the bucket. Now that was not a plan to be lightly undertaken. It was a project which, in his opinion, should be the last resort of a desperate people; but when those ruffians—for they were nothing less—when those ruffians with J.P. and D.L. after their names meet and talk about the necessity for further coercion, let them take care that a Coercion Act was not applied to themselves—because assuredly these people would not be as softly dealt with as they had been four years ago."—*Irish Times*, October 5th, 1885; *United Ireland*, October 10th, 1885.

[Mr. JOSEPH BIGGAR, M.P., at MURRINTOWN, CO. WEXFORD, September 14th, 1885.]

"Landgrabbers, in his opinion, were greater criminals than most men who had died upon the scaffold. (Cheers.) It was not right to deal with

a landgrabber, or to sell to him, and if they knew anyone who held intercourse with a landgrabber they should treat him similarly. They should not allow their children to go to the school to which a landgrabber sent his children. If it were possible, they should not worship in the same church with him."

[Mr. J. D. SHEEHAN, M.P., on 70 per cent. Reduction, at National League Rooms, KILLARNEY.]

"That, as the landlord refused 70 per cent., to offer only 50 next time, and nothing at all in March, as by then the new Irish Parliament would allot the land free to the present holders without any compensation to exterminating landlords."

[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., on the Abolition of Rent, at ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, U.S.A.]

"We have arisen to the station and dignity of political manhood and strength in Ireland, and we will have it. (Loud cheering, in which the speaker's voice was drowned.) I want you to understand, that the reduction of rent we require is not a small, or a petty, or a legal reduction, but the total abolition of rent. We want the people of Ireland well fed, well housed—to have the full rights of citizens and the full rights of labour. (Loud cheering.) . . . Gladstone wants a fixed rent; the Land League wants to abolish rent. Gladstone wants to retain the relations of landlord and tenant; the Land League wants to get rid of the relations of landlord and tenant. (Cheers.) After seven centuries of misrule, after a thousand defeats in battle, after ten thousand scaffolds, after the million of cells, the Irish people are unconquered and unconquerable to the end of time." (Loud cheers.)—*United Ireland, January 28th, 1882.*

[Mr. J. J. O'KELLY, M.P., on Crushing the Landlords, at DYSART, November 1st, 1885.]

"It was said that a certain section of the landlords were going to try their power against the people this winter. They should be careful whether they would try it or not. They had the power of dealing with those who acted in this way. The Poor Law Guardians could put the evicted on the rates, and eat the landlords' property up. The landlords

were pushing their power to its utmost limits, and they will do it too, and turn the poorhouses into hotels. (Cheers.) They would crush the landlords as completely as grapes in a wine press." (Cheers.)—*Freeman's Journal*, November 2nd, 1885.

[Mr. J. J. O'KELLY, M.P., at BREEDOGUE, CO. ROSCOMMON.]

"We, on your part, have told the people of England that you are not able to pay without taking from your farms those things which are necessary to the proper cultivation of your farms. If you allow yourselves to be intimidated by agents and landlords into parting with your stock to pay a rent which the land has not produced there will be a strong argument next year when Parliament assembles to show we were not speaking the truth when we said you were unable to pay, and that fact will not only tell against our political power and influence with the English people, but it will tell heavily against you in the settlement of the Land Question when it comes."—*Roscommon Herald report*, October 9th, 1886.

[Rev. EUGENE SHEEHY, C.C., on the Landlords' Purse, in DUBLIN.]

"What is the purpose of Davitt's incarceration? Vengeance upon Davitt, because he brought the Land League into existence; and I say that you should give back a similar defiance, and say to our common enemy: 'We will have vengeance upon you—we will not knock your brains out; but we will aim a sure blow at you—we will aim at your purse, and that is the life and soul of a landlord.'"—*Irish Times*, October 3rd, 1880.

[Rev. EUGENE SHEEHY, C.C., on Fair Rent.]

. . . . "Fair rent! Fair rent is an abomination—a crime not alone against modern civilisation, but a crime against common sense and a blasphemy against God."—*New York Irish World*, December 17th, 1881.

[Rev. EUGENE SHEEHY, C.C., on the Destruction of Landlordism,
at BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT.]

"Landlordism will have to go; or, if it stay, it will have a dishonoured grave. (Cheers.) Gladstone puts 400 men in gaol, and then tells them that he will release them if they will use their influence to induce the people to pay their rent. Of course, they all refused. . . . After

700 years we are on our legs, determined to live, and we will not resume our seat. We will go onward and upward, removing all obstacles, until we attain the freedom of Ireland and her recognition as one of the nations of the earth." (Cheers.)—*United Ireland, January 28th, 1882.*

[THOMAS BRENNAN, at MILLTOWN, CO. MAYO, July 25th, 1880.]

"We are here in open insurrection against landlordism, and we will remain in insurrection against it until it is out of the power of the few to rob men of the fruits of their industry. (Cheers.) I need not endeavour to sketch for you the evils which landlordism has brought upon you. . . . Will you, after your ceaseless toil, surrender the harvest which your sweat has produced, and go forth to beg for charity? (A voice : 'No, by heavens, we will not.') You will not. Then you must refuse to pay a rent you cannot afford. (A voice : 'We'll give them a bullet first.') A man who now pays an exorbitant rent is not only an enemy to himself but also an enemy to the common good. Individuals should make self-interest subservient to the common good of the community, but every man should go on strike against a rack-rent. But we can never have an effectual strike until we have organisation—till all the farmers of Ireland are in one grand organisation and pledged to the destruction of landlordism."—*Nation, August 1st, 1880.*

[THOMAS BRENNAN, at KEADUE, August 8th, 1880.]

"We want you not to crouch down to your landlords, or any other man in the community. ('Never, never.') This land that you created is yours. You have as much right to that land as you have to the free air of heaven, and any man who comes forward to take from you the fruits that you have raised from that land you ought to treat him as a robber and a plunderer."—*Nation, August 15th, 1880.*

[REV. J. J. BEHAN, C.C., at National League, in DUBLIN, on November 3rd, 1885.]

"The landlords had now to look to the people for justice ; and, when they remembered the past of landlordism, could anything be more terrible to such criminals than that justice should be meted out to them?"—*United Ireland, November 7th, 1885.*

[Rev. DAVID O'HANLON WALSH, on One Farthing Rent.]

"The rent you are to pay depends on the strength of your own determination. . . . Once the resolutions are passed, and the *pros* and *cons* considered, you are bound to stick to them. . . . The moment you say you are bound by the resolutions, I say the man who breaks those resolutions is to get no forgiveness at this side of the grave, and I hope he will not get it at the other side until the day of judgment. (Loud applause). Do that, my friends, and then it will not be a question of whether 10s. or 15s. reduction; it will simply be a question whether you will resolve, under the circumstances, to pay any rent at all. If you are going to pay the rent, you must first of all consider your liability to pay the honest shopkeeper, and make provision for yourself and family. I am not going to tell you that you are bound to pay the surplus. I am merely telling you if you resolve on what to do; but if you think it prudent to put it in your pockets, you will have my blessing and support. (Applause). Speaking from practical experience, I tell you that the combination that is able to extort 2s. or 3s. reduction in the pound, if you band yourselves together and are only prepared to abide by the consequences, that combination is able to demand and obtain a reduction of 19s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the pound, as easily as that." (Cheers).—*Wexford People*, October 7th, 1885.

[Mr. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON, M.P., Sec., at the National League Meeting in DUBLIN.]

"The Organising Committee have, therefore, directed me to say that they have made arrangements that the ordinary work of the organisation will go on without at all drawing upon any funds that are contributed in Ireland during the coming winter to the organisation. They intend to devote the subscriptions of membership and the funds that are raised in the various localities of Ireland, even outside the subscriptions of membership, exclusively to the support of the evicted tenants in the localities in Ireland where the evicted tenants make the best fight, and where, in the discretion of the Organising Committee, the tenants are most deserving of support." (Applause).—*Freeman's Journal*, September 29th, 1886.

[DR. KENNY, M.P., at the National League, DUBLIN.]

"They should give all they could in reason, subject to the conditions of his rev. friend (Father Cantwell), and even go beyond that, in order to

have peace in the country; but if the landlord would not come to terms, he said to them 'pay no rent.' (Applause.) If they were going to be evicted for non-payment of the entire rent, *let them be evicted with their rent in their pockets*, and not be evicted without one penny to carry them through the winter.—(Applause.)—Let them yield everything they could, and if they were driven to the wall let them keep their back to the wall, and fight it out to the end." (Applause.)—*Freeman report, Sept. 29th, 1886.*

[From the *Chicago Citizen*, December, 1882.]

"It is simple murder for Mr. Gladstone to allow the rascally landlords to collect the blood-money called 'rent' from a people who are actually on the verge of starvation. Three years ago, when famine threatened the western and southern seaboard counties of Ireland, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and other leaders solemnly declared that no matter what might befall their country in the future, the hat would never be passed round for the relief of her suffering people. We hope from our inmost heart that this declaration may be fulfilled to the letter. There is but one way to avoid the bitterness of alms-begging. Let the people who are threatened unite as they did a year ago and close down on every cent. of rent. If necessary, let them seize upon the landlords' flocks and herds, to feed themselves and their wives and children. They must not perish, as in 1846, with plenty around them. To seize the property of the landlords would not be robbery, but self-preservation, which is the first law of nature."

ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS.

[Mr. RICHARD POWER, M.P., at WATERFORD.]

"He wished it to be clearly and distinctly understood that they were not prepared to accept any compromise of their National rights. No milk-and-water measure would now satisfy the country; no committee of Irish members to legislate upon fisheries and railways; no grand or extended corporations. No: they would accept an Irish Parliament, or they would accept nothing. It would be better the people of Ireland should wait for a hundred years rather than they should lower their flag and accept anything else than a Parliament of their own. (Applause.) There were men whose contracted minds led them to believe that they

would see the realisation of England's delirious dream—namely, Ireland a pasture-farm for the manufacturers of England ; but there were yet left minds to work and hearts to beat for Ireland, and as long as there was a particle of manhood left in this land, so long would they struggle for the rights and liberties of Ireland.”—*September 9th, 1883.*

[MICHAEL DAVITT at CLONMEL, January 5th, 1884.]

“Let us to-day, at the beginning of 1884, once more declare in unfaltering tones what it is for which we are struggling. First, we are carrying on the struggle to win the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland ; and, secondly, to win for our country the inestimable privilege and dignity of a nation. . . . We mean by the “land for the people” the Irish soil for the Irish people, to be held by the nation for the people, and not for any foreign garrison. What do we mean by self-government for Ireland? Laws made in Ireland by Irishmen for Ireland—laws made to be observed, and not to be despised or condemned.”

[Rev. E. SHEEHY, C.C., at KNOCKADERRY, September 12th, 1884.]

“The national struggle will continue until every man gets back the ownership in fee of the land he cultivates ; until they had wiped out every memory of the Grand Jury system ; until Castle rule is no more ; until Parnell is governor of the country, Tim Healy prime minister, O'Brien, secretary of State ; until victory fluttered the old banner in the light of freedom ; until Ireland stood emancipated from her centre to her shores, a nation amongst nations.”—*Freeman, September 14th, 1884.*

[Mr. W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., at National League in DUBLIN.]

“The question of self-government was not one that merely interested this country. It was never the subject of a struggle between race and race ; but they should not flatter themselves with the delusion that the people of this country would be sufficient, without the assistance of the Irish people abroad, to cope with the resources which England could bring against them in the future as in the past.”—*Irish Times, September 17th, 1884.*

[Mr. J. HUNTLEY M'CARTHY, M.P., at ATHLONE.]

"We will have no contemptible National Council, no small local boards, such as Mr. Chamberlain suggested, to govern us. We will have Grattan's Parliament, and we will have more than Grattan's Parliament. (Cheers). We will be as free as a State in the great American Union is free—free to make our own laws for our own people in our own way."—*United Ireland, October 3rd, 1885.*

[Extracts from Articles in *United Ireland*.]

"Mr. Chamberlain has made two deliverances during the week which, were they made from Irish platforms, would be promptly sat upon by the Privy Council, and, at the best, denounced as rank Socialism. His speech at Bristol on the Franchise Question is, from our point of view, the less interesting of the two—frank and breezy a declaration though it is for manhood suffrage, and unequivocal in its admission that whatever franchises England gets Ireland must get also, *even if she should use them for the adumbration of an Irish Republic*. The fact is, upon the Franchise Question, heads we win, harps they lose. If we should get household suffrage, we will add the Ulster constituencies wholesale to the National ranks. If the household suffrage scheme should be defeated, two-thirds of the Irish representation are already ours, and we will have to deal with a tottering Tory Government, instead of a Whig one reinforced by the influence of the artisans and labourers in the counties. Happy shall we be with either."—*December 1st, 1883.*

"We attach much more significance to the principles underlying Mr. Chamberlain's paper in the *Fortnightly Review* on the housing of the poor. Some of the principles he applies to the problem of housing the poor of the towns appear to us to be exactly on all fours with the principles which will have to be enforced in extirpating landlordism from Ireland." . . . "Applying the principle at home, the State has a still better right to give landlords short shrift in respect to the soil which they did not create than in respect of tenement houses whose bricks and mortar they paid for. The analogy is still more striking when Mr. Chamberlain comes to the 'root of the matter,' and states 'the principle' on which alone a radical reform is possible :—'*The expense of making towns habitable for the toilers who dwell in them must be thrown on the land which their toil makes valuable without any effort on the part of its owners.*'" . . . "If this is not the 'prairie-rent' doctrine," continues *United*

Ireland, "words have no meaning. If artisans in the towns are entitled to be housed at the expense of landlords who have hitherto fattened on their misery, and the rights of property of these landlords are to be summarily disposed of the moment they become a public nuisance, who will dispute the claim of the Irish tenantry to be released from an obligation to pay £16,000,000 a-year to the idlers who have never driven a spade in the soil? or who will demand for the Irish landlords a couple of hundred millions of money for the surrender of the 'rights' which they have used for the impoverishment and ruin of the community? Briefly, Mr. Chamberlain's doctrine seems to us to be as advanced as that which Mr. Davitt was preaching the night after his Bristol speech in the same city. Has he any forces behind him in English Radicalism to give that doctrine efficacy? It is his affair, not ours."—*December 1st, 1883.*

SECTION IV.

CRIME STATISTICS.

HOW CRIME HAS INCREASED IN IRELAND UNDER THE NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE.

The Land League, with Mr. PARNELL, M.P., as President, and Mr. EGAN, as Treasurer, was founded in August, 1879, though the agitation against Rent had continued from the commencement of the year.

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF AGRARIAN CRIMES AND OF PERSONS "BOYCOTTED."

In the year 1879, the Agrarian Crimes were	...	...	...	...	...	870
In the year 1880, they rose to	...	...	...	...	...	2,585
In the year 1881, they rose to	...	...	...	...	...	4,439
From January to June, 1882, they rose to	...	...	...	...	...	2,597

On the 12th July, 1882, the Crimes Prevention Act was passed, when Agrarian Crime fell from July to December, 1882, to ... 836

In the year 1883, the Agrarian Crimes were	...	...	...	...	...	834
In the year 1884, the Agrarian Crimes were	...	...	...	...	...	744

From January to June, 1885, the Agrarian Crimes were	...	...	...	...	373	} 672
NUMBER OF PERSONS WHOLLY AND PARTIALLY "BOYCOTTED" FROM APRIL TO JUNE, 1885	...	...	...	...	299	

On the 12th July, 1885, the Crimes Prevention Act expired, and during the following six months Agrarian Crimes nearly doubled and "Boycotting" nearly trebled.

From July to December, 1885, Agrarian Crimes rose to	...	...	...	...	543	} 1,434
NUMBER OF PERSONS WHOLLY AND PARTIALLY "BOYCOTTED" ROSE TO	...	...	...	...	891	

From January to June, 1886, the Agrarian Crimes were	...	...	...	...	553	} 1,452
NUMBER OF PERSONS WHOLLY AND PARTIALLY "BOYCOTTED" IN FEBRUARY, 1886	...	...	...	...	899	

Total number of Agrarian Crimes, which include Murder; Manslaughter; Firing at the Person; Conspiracy to Murder; Assaults on Police, Bailiffs, and Process-Servers; Cutting or Maiming the Person; Killing, Cutting or Maiming Cattle; Firing into Dwellings, &c., &c., to the date given, exclusive of "Boycotting" } 14,374

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PARNELLITES AND OUTRAGES, THE "INVINCIBLES," "MOON- LIGHTERS," &c.

[Rt. Hon. W. E. FORSTER's explanation of the connection between
Mr. PARNELL and the OUTRAGE-MONGERS.]

Mr. Forster, the late Chief Secretary, describing the progress of the negotiations previous to Mr. Parnell's release, stated in the House of Commons, in reference to Captain O'Shea's intercourse with him:—
 " I took a memorandum at the time, and I sent it to the Prime Minister, and circulated it among my colleagues. It was to this effect: 'After telling me that he had been from eleven to five yesterday with Parnell, O'Shea gave me his letter to him, saying that he hoped it would be a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party. After carefully reading it, I said to him, 'Is that all, do you think, that Parnell would be inclined to say?' He said, 'What more do you want? Doubtless I could supplement.' I said, 'It comes to this—that upon our doing certain things he will help us to prevent outrages,' or words to that effect. He again said, 'How can I supplement it?' referring, I imagine, to different measures. I did not feel justified in giving him my own opinion, which might be interpreted to be that of the Cabinet, so I said I had better show the letter to Mr. Gladstone and one or two others. He said, 'Well, there may be fault in expression, but the thing is done. If these words will not do, I must get others, but what is obtained is [and here he used most remarkable words] *that the conspiracy which has been used to get up Boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down.*' And that there will be a union in the Liberal party. And, as an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained, he said that Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person, and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the West. This last statement is quite true—this man—I will give his name if required. (Cries of 'Name.') It is Sheridan—"

"Is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers in the West. I did not feel myself sufficiently master of the situation to let him see what I thought of this confidence, but I again told him that I could not do more at present than tell others what he had told me.
It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening, which I had.

not before—that a man whom, I knew, so far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the hon. member for the City of Cork, that upon his release, he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things which he had been provoking. Well, I came away from that interview with this feeling: I was very sorry I had had anything whatever to do with the negotiation, although all I had to do with it was, to have got from the hon. member for the City of Cork, a promise not to break the law. I felt I would have nothing more to do with it. If it was possible to injure the power of the Government in Ireland, and to make it more difficult to preserve order, it was by entering into any arrangement with a gentleman who said: ‘If I can get certain things done, then I will no longer instigate a breach of the law; I will try and help you to keep it, and will even make use of agents who have been used for the purposes of outrages to put them down.’”

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF P. J. SHERIDAN.

“Shortly after his marriage, Mr. Sheridan removed to England, where he took an active and prominent part in the Fenian movement, and participated in the famous Chester attack. He joined three different branches of the English Volunteer service, so that he might acquire a knowledge of military affairs, and while connected with that force he managed to swear hundreds of his comrades into the Fenian organisation. . . .

“Shortly afterwards, Mr. Sheridan returned to Ireland, and went into the business of hotel-keeper and general merchant at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo (*anglice*—kept a public-house). At the same time he kept up his connection with the movement, taking a leading part in the councils, and sharing in all the risks required of men engaged in a patriotic struggle.

“When the Land League sprang into existence he affiliated with it, and was elected a member of the first Executive Council. His activity in the League, and his great influence with the Irish people, made Mr. Sheridan a marked man in the eyes of the English Government, owing to which he was indicted as one of the fourteen traversers tried with Parnell in Dublin in 1880, and was afterwards arrested under the Coercion Act, and confined in Kilmainham Gaol for over six months. As soon as he was released he resumed work, going about to prepare his countrymen. Several warrants for his arrest were issued, but he managed to baffle England’s minions.

"He was suddenly summoned to Dublin to attend a meeting of the League Executive. He reached that city only to find that Mr. Parnell had been arrested. The organisation was then virtually without a head ; but Mr. Sheridan had the Land League books, documents, and accounts conveyed secretly to Paris, from which place he and Patrick Egan issued orders to the people of Ireland. He was one of the Committee which drew up the No Rent Manifesto, which proved a potent weapon in the war against England and landlordism.

"He found it necessary to return to Ireland for a double purpose—first, to visit his wife and family, who were almost hounded to death by the English detectives ; secondly, to assist the Ladies' Land League in their work. It was on that occasion that Mr. Sheridan found it necessary to assume the guise of a priest, and travelled all over Ireland for months as 'Father Murphy.'"—*From the Dynamite Monthly, New York, May, 1884.*

[P. J. SHERIDAN'S connection with the PHOENIX PARK MURDERS.]

The following particulars in reference to Sheridan's connection with the "Invincibles" and the Park murders, were brought to light at the trial of the assassins :—"Soon after we had established this society in 1881, or January, 1882, I recollect going to the 'Angel Hotel.' This was on some day in December—the day we were in the Park. Walsh was with me and Daniel Curley. I never knew P. J. Sheridan of Tubbercurry as Sheridan, but I heard his name mentioned. Walsh introduced me to a man at the Angel Hotel. I afterwards discovered that this man was disguised. This was the man I was afterwards told was P. J. Sheridan. He was in the garb of a priest, and was introduced to me as 'the Rev. Father Murphy.' Walsh told him we had been out in the Park—he said we were looking out to see Mr. Forster, to make his acquaintance. Sheridan told us he was going down to the country. He said he was going down to establish a branch of this (the Invincible Society) down in the country. I saw Sheridan in the same disguise on a second occasion in the Midland Hotel. We spoke about arms to him on the second occasion, and asked—why did they not send over some arms to us? He said when he went back to London he would see about it. He was on his way back to London the second time we saw him. He mentioned then that he had been making preparations with regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd and men like him. . . . I, myself, suggested knives to Sheridan—not knives but daggers. I suggested to put a cord round the handles

so as to put a stop for the hand. After Sheridan left and went to London, a woman came to my house with two revolvers and about six knives.”—*James Carey’s Evidence at Kilmainham, February 19th, 1883.*

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[PATRICK EGAN’S Refusal to offer Land League Reward for
Discovery of PHŒNIX PARK MURDERERS.]

Mr. Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, has telegraphed the following to *The Freeman’s Journal* of Dublin :—

“Editor, *Freeman*, Dublin : In *The Freeman* of yesterday Mr. James F. O’Brien suggests a reward of £2,000 out of the Land League Fund for the discovery of the perpetrators of the terrible tragedy of Saturday. [The Phœnix Park Murders.] Remembering, as I do, the number of innocent victims who, in the sad history of our country, have been handed over to the gallows by wretched informers in order to earn the coveted blood money, and foreseeing the awful danger that in the present excited state of public feeling crime may be added to crime by the possible sacrifice of guiltless men, I am determined that if one penny of the Land League Fund were voted for such a purpose, I would at once resign the treasurership.—PATRICK EGAN.”—*Extracted from Irish Nation, May 13th, 1882.*

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[The Land League Representative as an “Invincible” Organiser.]

“I remember coming to a meeting in Ennis in January twelve months ago. Pat Loughrey was with me. . . . There was a stranger there who said he was a *representative of the Land League from Dublin*. He said he attended to know if the Republican Brotherhood would form a new society ; that he had travelled about other parts of the country already, and had formed branches in other counties. M’Enerney said the Land League would supply the new society with arms. The name of the new society was either ‘Invincible’ or ‘Vigilance.’”—*Evidence of John Turbidy (Approver) at Ennis, April, 1883.*

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[P. J. SHERIDAN as an “Invincible” Organiser.]

“I live at Tubbercurry (the village in which Sheridan lived). I have known the existence of the Fenian organisation in that district for seven

or eight years. I was asked twice to join it. I joined it the second time. I knew P. J. Sheridan. I was told he was a county centre. Sheridan talked at the meetings, and told us to form 'divisions and circles' (the 'Invincible' terms), and to subscribe, as well as I remember. I remember a meeting being held at P. J. Sheridan's house at night in Tubbercurry. I was stationed outside the door. Sheridan told me to stand there. I remember attending a meeting at the racecourse, about a mile outside Tubbercurry. I saw Lyons after that, and he told me that he had seen Patrick Sheridan in the house belonging to Jerry Lowry, and that Sheridan was dressed like a priest. He said that Sheridan formed an inner circle of the Fenians. They were to be called the 'Invincibles.' Lyons also said that Sheridan told him to take on a few men in Tubbercurry as 'Invincibles.' He said the inner circle was formed for shooting people, and that we would get any amount of money for doing it. Not for joining the 'inner circle,' but for any man we shot. He asked me to join it, and I did so."—*Evidence of John Moran (approver) at Sligo, May, 1884.*

[Murder at the request of the Land League.]

"In March, 1883, a number of men were convicted of treason-felony—of having been members of an association called the Patriotic Brotherhood, in the County of Armagh, which was a branch of the Invincible Society, and was established by Mr. P. J. Sheridan—and a memorandum-book given in evidence on the trial that had been found on one of them contained the following entry:—"May 24th, 1882. At the request of the Land League, conveyed through Thomas Murphy, men have been sworn in specially to kill Mr. Brooke."

[PARNELL Medals as Rewards for "Moonlighting.]"

Daniel Connell, *alias* Captain Moonlight, deposed:—I am nearly twenty years of age. As Lieutenant in the "Moonlights" I had jurisdiction over the district from the Rathmore Railway Station, beyond Mill-street, to Banteer Station, at Kanturk, and from near Macroom, as far as Blackwater Bridge. I have sworn in between six and twelve [men]. They were all sworn on the Bible by the following oath:—

"I swear to be true and faithful to the Irish Republic, and to obey my superiors, and to take up arms when required. Death to the Traitor. So help me God."

This oath was in writing. I swore the oath myself. I have gone about the country but I did not invite anyone or press them to take this oath. They were brought to be sworn by the rest of the party. I was unanimously appointed Lieutenant at the general meeting. I went about the country taking charge of the arms, as I had also the position of armourer, and I repaired the guns and revolvers when broken. I got £12 on two occasions from Dublin. I could not say from what place there as there was no address on the letter. *There were also rewards given for bravery at those outrages in money, and a Parnell medal was sometimes given.*

[The following document was produced :—Regimental order of Captain Moonlight for appointed Raids on 30/12/81.—Thomas Sullivan to be shot in the legs ; the mother and daughter's hair to be clipped for dealing with Hegarty, of Mill-street, and John Lebane, for story-telling to Father Twomey, to be clipped also. John Murphy to be shot in the legs for paying his rent. Signed and confirmed, Captain Moonlight.]

I wrote this, or copied it out of the Captain's book. *I was offered a Parnell Medal for bravery, but I took money instead.* Jeremiah Riordan of Mill-street [the Captain] got a medal. All the money came from Dublin.—*Freeman's Journal Report of Evidence of John Connell [Captain Moonlight], approver, at Cork Assizes.*

[Extract from Letter of Mr. H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER in the *Times*,
February 25th, 1884.]

"It is quite clear that the public does not even yet comprehend the position in which members of the Central Committee of the late Land League, whether in or out of Parliament, really stand. Upon that Committee there were seven members who, by their activity and their position, are entitled to first rank. Of these seven, four carried on the work of the League outside the Sackville Street room, as well as within its walls. One of the four has been indicted for wilful murder. He and his three companions have, for reasons best known to themselves, fled the country at a period coinciding with the passing of a stringent criminal law. The employers of these men, whose work for the most part was conducted within the Committee rooms, are in the Imperial Parliament, and Mr. Sexton is one of them. The record of the four individuals who have left the country is to be found in the Outrage Blue Book. The work of their associates and paymasters is contained in the documentary records of the illegal society to which they belonged. It would be more accurate to say

that it was contained in those documents, for they no longer exist. And why? Simply because they have been destroyed by those who compiled them, and who were aware of their contents."

THE PARNELLITE "SECRET SERVICE FUND."

[THE PHOENIX PARK MURDER CONSPIRACY.]

"We got money. . . . two twenties and forty pounds. He told us that there would be no limit to the supply, and that if I required £1,000 I could have it. We often talked amongst ourselves as to where the money came from. We could not tell where the money came from. According to our opinion—well, we often asked where the money came from; having regard to the fact that money for some time before (before the starting of the 'Invincibles') was at a very low ebb. We used to talk about the matter between ourselves. The four of us talked it over repeatedly, and we said it must have come from the Land League."—*James Carey's Revelations at Kilmainham, February, 1883.*

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[THE LAND LEAGUE SECRETARY'S REFUSAL TO DENY CAREY'S CHARGE.]

"As Carey's statement had reference to a secret organisation (that is, the statement that Carey made to the effect that he believed that the money with which the 'Invincible' gang was organised and maintained came from the Land League), he declined to say whether it was true or not."—*Thomas Brennan interviewed in New York by Irish World Reporter, May, 1883.*

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[THE "INVINCIBLE" PROVINCIAL CONSPIRACIES.]

"M'Enerney said the Land League would supply the new society with arms. The name of the new society was either "Invincible" or "Vigilance." He said they would all get their expenses, and that members of the society should go into different counties, and even England, to shoot landlords, bailiffs, and spies, and that the Land League would pay their expenses."—*John Turbidy's Revelations at Ennis, April, 1883.*

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[THE "MOONLIGHT" CONSPIRACY.]

"I got £12 on two occasions from Dublin. I could not say from what place there as there was no address on the letter. There were also rewards given for bravery at these outrages in money, and a Parnell medal was sometimes given. . . . I was offered a Parnell medal for bravery, but I took money instead. . . . All the money came from Dublin."—*Captain Moonlight's Revelations at Cork, January, 1882.*

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"But who defended 'Captain Moonlight?' It was sworn at the trial that the Land League was connected with these outrages. The defence was undoubtedly carried on by the Land League. Where did the hundred guineas for counsel come from? Who paid the original retainer and the refreshers from day to day? The question had never been answered. Those fees were not paid from subscription."—*The Attorney-General for Ireland. Speech in the House of Commons, February, 1882.*

SPECIMENS OF AMERICAN AND IRISH ASSASSINATION LITERATURE.

REFERENCES TO EXECUTED "INVINCIBLES."

[*Irishman*, April 21st, 1883.]

"The Government will not value very highly the victory it has obtained over Daniel Curley. . . . It is a triumph more for him than for the prosecution."

[*Irishman*, May 12th, 1883.]

"The result of the battle for Tim Kelly's life is not cheap at the price. Victories won at the cost of diffusing satisfaction, not to say suspicion, are dearly purchased. The desire to hang him by hook or crook became the fixed resolve of the Crown, assuming as the trial proceeded the tone and temper of a passion. . . . What does it teach but this most unwholesome lesson—that the end justifies the means. . . . Our governors may know what they are doing, but the Irish people cannot close their eyes to passing events. As they are taught, so will they learn."

[*Irishman*, May 19th, 1883.]

"All accounts agree that Joe Brady met his death with more than ordinary firmness and courage. . . . Fear had no place in his heart. . . . Events transpiring since the sickening disclosures commenced at Kilmainham have created sympathy for the fate of Joe Brady . . . Whether the bungling Marwood had to kick him into eternity, as happened at Galway, we know not, and shall never learn."

[*Irishman*, June 9th, 1883.]

"The mother of the Mr. Herbert who was murdered in Kerry has received a *solatium* for the loss of her son in the Government Grant (to be paid out of the pockets of the poor) of £400. We hope Mother Herbert is satisfied with the amount of the compensation. If Mr. Herbert's grandmother were alive, we suppose she, too, would have a claim to a handful of the people's earnings."

[*Irishman*, June 16th, 1883.]

"Kelly, the boy of 19 years is 'removed,' and the sovereign sway of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, by the grace of God is saved from danger. Moreover, the noble blood of Cavendish is avenged. Five more Irishmen are the least that could placate the angry manes of one, Devonshire."

[*Irishman*, December 22nd, 1883.]

"The holy festival of Christianity is ushered in with a double deed of blood. . . . O'Donnell, the man who shot the accursed informer, Carey, perished on the scaffold on Monday morning at the Old Bailey in London. Joseph Poole was hung at Richmond Prison, Dublin, on the following morning. . . . Well, therefore, may Mr. Gladstone, and his Liberal Viceroy, join in the hymn of praise which will be heard in Hawarden and St. Werburgh's Church a couple of days hence—"Glory to God on high, and on earth peace." . . . The world will not regard them in any light save that of legal murderers. . . . There is such a thing in our social life as State-made crime, and there is such a thing in National struggles as Government-made murder. . . . So long as England denies to this country the right to make its own laws for its own people she must expect the recurrence of dangers to her own peace."

[*Irishman*, March 15th, 1884.]

"The good and gracious Earl of Derby last year said in the House of Lords that, if people were to be killed, he could not see the difference it made to blow them to bits with dynamite instead of with gunpowder. Has this enlightened view been made the text of the dynamite doctrinaires? We pity the perversion of their reason if they have appropriated the idea, in ignorance of the fact potent to all men, that the elements of destruction were ordained from the beginning as the sole and sacred possession of the powers that be, and not of the powers that would be. A remonstrance of another kind—an address to O'Donovan Rossa and to Joe Brady's brother (who has just gone in heartily with the dynamite business)—and it is this—They are not justified in removing mere atoms of humanity. Know they not that Cromwell was great because he was able to snuff out thousands with a puff of his nostrils. At his bidding hecatombs lay weltering in their gore, therefore the name of Cromwell stands glorified amongst the noblest of the godlike heroes of Great Britain. If Rossa cannot become a Cromwell let him hang his head."

[From the *Irish World*.]

"Unlike the slave-masters of the South, the masters of the Irish people give them leave to run away from their country, and are glad of the riddance. If they are resolved to remain in the land which the Lord our God gave to them they must fight. But how are they to fight? The Irish nation is disarmed, and its population are held as prisoners of war. The Irish cannot fight on the honourable conditions which their English conquerors mockingly prescribe. If they are to fight at all they must avail themselves of such methods and such agencies as nature and science put within their reach."—*September 4th*, 1886.

[From the *Boston Pilot*, quoted in *Evening Mail*, March 27th, 1886.]

"The deliberate speech of Mr. Gladstone will justify Irishmen for the retaliation of despair in case the Bill be defeated."

[From the *Chicago Citizen*.]

"Mr. Ford's position is, therefore, as plain as a pike-handle. We don't believe that any Irishman with hot, manly blood in his veins will

object to it. 'Moral force' is at present being sat down upon unmercifully in Windmill Hall, commonly called the British House of Commons. Parnell's amendments to the Address have been buried out of sight. Sexton's fared no better. The English allies are deserting by the dozen. Morley, Bradlaugh, and Labouchere alone, among the British leaders, remain faithful. England has recovered from her dynamite panic and has grown confident and saucy again. *Perhaps the 'Irish-American desperadoes' are all dead. Perhaps, on the other hand, they are not.*"

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN JOURNALISTIC INCITEMENT AND ACTUAL CRIME.

[*Freeman's Journal*, published daily in Dublin.]

"There ought to be a clean sweep out of all the miserable 'deputies of deputies' (to use an expression of Lord Chesterfield's) who have brought about the unfortunate condition to which Ireland has lapsed."—*Freeman's Journal* leading article, May 2nd, 1882.

[Now when did you resolve upon the assassination of Mr. Burke?—After I had seen an article in the *Freeman's Journal* in reference to the Government officials of Dublin Castle. This article appeared on the 2nd of May, and the order was issued to kill Mr. Burke on the 3rd May, the day following.—*James Carey (Invincible informer) at Kilmainham, February 19th, 1883.*]

[*United Ireland*, published weekly in Dublin.]

"But the money it" (that is the Castle) "spends, and the favours it distributes, and the foul toads who use it as a cistern to knot and gender in it, are just the things which make the harmless travesty of vice-royalty an offence and scorn to Irishmen. . . . The toads are the gang of alien officials who nestle in the snuggeries of the Castle like as many asps in the bosom of the country. Down with the whole bundle of rottenness and imposture."—*United Ireland*, May 4th, 1882.

✂ [This was followed by the Phoenix Park murders, by which one of the principal Castle officials was assassinated.]

"The jury was as shamefully concocted, its partisanship was as indecent, and the evidence was evidence upon which an English jury would not hang a dog. . . . Once the word is passed to 'convict murderers,' a metropolitan Protestant and loyal jury, under the eye of Mr. Norris Goddard, may be trusted to know a murderer when they see him without splitting hairs about particulars. . . . What is even more aggravating than a patent murder-machine as a system of government is the Pharisaism which shelters the achievements of Mr. Goddard's pals under the venerable title of trial by jury, and decries as a foe to public justice whoever cries out on the imposture." "The Bloody Assize."—*United Ireland*.

"The incident of Mr. Field passing down an affectionate *billet doux* from the jury-box to Norris Goddard."—*United Ireland, October 7th, 1882*.

¶ [This was followed by an attempt on the life of Mr. Field, which was successful to the extent of keeping him hovering between life and death for months. The attempted murder was by the Phoenix Park assassins.]

"Silence and veneration is demanded by the religion of English rule, and we bow before its sacred symbol, the gallows. Not often, even in the bloodstained records of Ireland, has there been a tragedy more pitiful, more horrible, than that of which Francis Hynes was the victim. Need we recapitulate the grotesque mockery of the trial? . . . A jury presided over by a judge who, from the commencement of the trial to its close, did not even attempt to conceal his indecent longing for a conviction. It was not enough that his charge should be a speech for the prosecution. By nod and smile throughout the trial he emphasised each scrap of evidence that seemed to tell against the prisoner; by shrugs and deprecatory gestures he made light of the defence. . . . Need we speak of the 'terrible' exposure that followed? Judge Lawson, in a tempest of virtuous indignation, decided that jury-packing and jury orgies were subjects too sacred for public comment."—*United Ireland*.

¶ [This was followed by an attempt on the life of Mr. Justice Lawson by one of the Phoenix Park murderers. Happily it was unsuccessful.]

[*Specimens of the manner in which outrages and crime are reported in the columns of UNITED IRELAND—the headings being of such a type as “THE SPIRIT OF THE COUNTRY,” “INCIDENTS IN THE CAMPAIGN,” &c.*]

“A FARMER SHOT DEAD.”

“Peter Doherty, a young farmer, living at Carrigan, *who took a farm surrendered by another tenant who was refused a reduction, was shot dead at his own door on Wednesday night.*”

“A STORY FROM BALTINGLASS.”

“The youngest child of Mr. Thompson, of this town, died on Wednesday morning, and because this gentleman has incurred, in some way, the displeasure of the Land League, a carpenter would not be allowed to make a coffin for him. The crape on his door knocker was pelted with stones.”

“BY PERSONS UNKNOWN.”

“On Saturday night, at 11 o'clock, an attack was made by twenty men with blackened faces on the house of Owen Curtin, of Mountmay. They fired shots into the house, and broke in the door. Curtin and his son were taken out of the house and beaten in the yard with the butts of guns. Old Curtin was then sworn that he would not dispossess a tenant on whom he had served a notice to quit. *Curtin was some time ago brought before the Kilavullen Land League for not giving an abatement to his tenant, and reprimanded.* On the party leaving Curtin's house they fired several shots, and promised to visit him again if he did not do as they wished. The police have been out making inquiries, but no arrests have been made, as Curtin and family say they do not know any of the persons who attacked them.”

“ATTEMPT TO BURN A BAILIFF.”

“On Monday night a most determined attempt was made to burn a bailiff to death at Creaden, in the county of Waterford. It appears that a couple of days ago a tenant of Earl Fortescue, named Hally, was evicted for non-payment of rent, and a bailiff was put into possession of the farm. The bailiff in charge went to bed about 11 o'clock at night, and was awakened about two o'clock in the morning by the crackling of burnt timber, and jumping out of bed, he found the dwelling-house in flames. It was with great difficulty he got out of the burning house.”

“DENYING THE SOFT IMPEACHMENT.”

“Richard Brown, agricultural implement maker, writes to the *Wexford People* to deny that he worked for Boycotted persons at Adamstown *as charged by* the chairman of a local Land League.”

“SUSPECTED OF PAYING RENT.”

“A telegram from Carrick-on-Shannon states that large quantities of farm produce were burned on Wednesday night on farms near Readon and Ballyfaron, *the owners being suspected of paying their rent.*”

“A MIDNIGHT WARNING.”

“A telegram of Thursday says, a party of armed, disguised men, last night, visited the house of a farmer named Michael Walshe, at Berring, twelve miles from Cork, and cautioned him repeatedly not to pay his rent, or they would take his life. He said he would pay his rent, and would not be intimidated by them. One of the party then fired and wounded him, it is believed mortally. The tenants were about to pay their rents to Mr. Saunders, of Charleville. It is stated they are afraid now to pay. A man named Daniel Herlihy has been arrested.”

“DESPERATE ASSAULT.”

“A woman named Mary Carroll, who recently took a farm from which a family named Dolan had been evicted, was fearfully beaten and kicked about the head at Newtown, near Ballinasloe, on Tuesday night, and lies in a precarious condition in the Ballinasloe Workhouse Hospital.”

THE “IRISH WORLD” AND THE PARNELLITES.

It has recently become the fashion of the Parnellites to repudiate all connection with the *Irish World* newspaper. That the truth may be known with regard to the matter, the following extracts are given. The character of the man who edits the *Irish World*, and who first gave Davitt money to start the agitation, may be gathered from the following confession made by him in his issue of Sept. 4th, 1886:—“Unlike the slave-masters of the South, the masters of the Irish people give them leave to run away from their country, and are glad of the riddance. If they are resolved

to remain in the land which the Lord our God gave to them then they must fight. But how are they to fight? The Irish nation are disarmed, and its population are held as prisoners of war. The Irish cannot fight on the honourable conditions which their English conquerors mockingly prescribe. If they are to fight at all they must avail themselves of such methods and such agencies as nature and science put within their reach." This of course refers to the use of dynamite, and it is because of the present necessity to discountenance extreme measures that the Parnellites seek now to "cry off" from Mr. Ford. That Ford, on his side, thinks somewhat less of his colleagues is evidenced by the following from his pen in the same issue of his journal as the foregoing appears:—"I am loyal to Parnell, but not his slave. Parnell in my judgment has made some mistakes. The Kilmainham Treaty, so called, I think, was a mistake; his forcing O'Shea on the people of Galway I think was a mistake; and his denial in the House of Commons of a certain passage in his Cincinnati speech I cannot regard but as a mistake."

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MONTREAL, *March 9th*, 1880.

PATRICK FORD,

Will be leaving on Thursday for Ireland in the *Baltic*. Shall of course return to America after the elections. The work here is vitally important and must go on.

Tell my friends to keep the good work going and the flag flying, and we shall come back with victory shining on our banners to complete a labour in America that is yet scarcely begun.

Dillon remains here on guard, and will keep the ball rolling till my return. Canada has welcomed us magnificently, and Montreal turned out in a style that shows to our enemies that Irish hearts are Irish everywhere.

Men of America! Keep on forming Land Leagues, and, above all, sustain the men at home in the present crisis.

Have called by telegraph a hurried conference of Irish Leaders at the New York Hotel on the morning of my departure. Hope for your presence.

CHARLES S. PARNELL.

Irish World, *March 20th*, 1880.

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"The Land League has scored a victory. The ten-to-two disagreement of the jury in face of the tremendous pressure of the Court is everywhere accepted as having the effect of an acquittal.

Thanks to the *Irish World* and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear for its ultimate success."

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

January 26th, 1881.

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"In the name of the Land League I beg to tender to the readers of the *Irish World*, and to all co-operators, its sincere and most grateful acknowledgments."

THOMAS BRENNAN,
Secretary to the Land League.

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"No copies of the *Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the last two weeks. It is thought the Government is intercepting them. . . . Let those who have so generously assisted us *in spreading the light* relax not in their good work. Let them continue to aid us in the holy work in which we are engaged. The *Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are made to keep it out."

THOMAS BRENNAN,
Secretary to the Land League.

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"All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion, *but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it*. Accidents can never occur in times like these. It is asserted that the regiment now quartered in the Salford barracks contains many Irish, and that Fenianism has been previously suspected among them."

THOMAS BRENNAN to the *Irish World*.

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"Large amounts of money began to pour in from America, being sent to Father Walsh or direct to the treasurer of the Irish Land League, Patrick Egan. The *largest subscription* was sent through the *Irish World*. It is but justice to Mr. Ford that I should state in this most public manner the work he has done for the League. His support has

never wavered for a moment, and his paper has always been foremost in doing anything and everything which it could in behalf of the movement."

MICHAEL DAVITT Interviewed.

"By all means send the *Irish World* into Ireland. Its power for good is wonderful; it is an all-strengthening force among the Irish people, and I cannot speak too strongly on the subject."

MICHAEL DAVITT at ST. LOUIS.

[1. PATRICK EGAN, Land League Treasurer, to PATRICK FORD,
Editor, *Irish World*.]

"We call upon every Irish Nationalist, and every friend of liberty, justice and humanity, to stand by us in the coming crisis."

[2. PATRICK FORD to PATRICK EGAN.]

"I cable you twenty thousand francs, with, however, the injunction—Let the word go forth—No RENT."

[3. PATRICK EGAN to PATRICK FORD.]

"Prompt measures are in progress to procure a general strike against Rent. The manifesto will be issued without delay."

[4. PATRICK FORD TO PATRICK EGAN.]

"A thousand cheers for that glorious manifesto. It is the bravest act of the Land War. God bless you all."

[The *Irish World* to its Readers.]

The "No-Rent Banner" is unfurled. Let us bare our heads in its presence, and, kneeling in spirit before it, thank God that He has *inspired* the hearts of the dungeoned leaders of the oppressed people to speak the word. . . . Send out collectors. . . . Give ten dollars where heretofore you have given but one.

Quotations in Freeman's Journal, December 14th, 1881.

"The sum total forwarded to Mr. Egan by the *Irish World* was more than equal to the sum total raised for the same purpose by all other agencies in America combined."—*Irish World*, November 25th, 1882.

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"I very much fear that some expressions reported in the *Freeman* of yesterday from Mr. Healy's speech of Tuesday night may lead to the formation of erroneous opinion in Ireland about the part which the "Irish World" has played in the movement of the last seven years. It is not correct to say, 'For years and years the "Irish World" had never ceased to attack us (Irish cheers), because it has been our most persistent enemy.' I am aware that from the formation of the National League until a year or so ago, Mr. Patrick Ford had ceased to support the constitutional movement in Ireland, and had often, I regret to say, severely, and, I think, mistakenly criticised Mr. Parnell's policy, while at the same time advocating a counter-policy of dynamite which found no support from Land Leaguers in Ireland who had previously worked in harmony with the *Irish World*. But Mr. Ford, since abandoning the dynamite propaganda, has largely aided the National League of America by the powerful advocacy of his great paper, as well as by stimulating the subscriptions of Irish-Americans to the funds of that League.

"I do not think Mr. Healy is just to the *Irish World* when he says:—'We would have got the subscriptions (the money sent to the Land League) if the *Irish World* never existed.' This I deny. I believe that three-fourths of the enormous sum of money received by the Land League from America was subscribed through the appeals which were made by Patrick Ford in his paper, through the instrumentality of the hundreds of branches of the auxiliary American League which was organised by the "Irish World." . . . I feel compelled at the dictates of a sense of justice to make these observations in defence of a man of whose immense services to the cause of Ireland during the life of the Land League I must always cherish a feeling of profound gratitude."—MICHAEL DAVITT, *London*, May 27th, 1886.

THE NO RENT MANIFESTO.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organisation that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared "unlawful and criminal." A reign of terror has commenced. Meet the action of the English Government with a determined passive resistance. The No Rent Banner has been raised, and it remains with the people now to prove themselves dastards or men.

PAY NO RENT.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Such is the programme now before the country. Adopt it, and it will lead you to free land and happy homes. Reject it, and slavery and degradation will be your portion.

PAY NO RENT.

The person who does should be visited with the severest sentence of social ostracism.

AVOID THE LAND COURT.

Cast out the person who enters it as a renegade to his country and to the cause of his fellow men.

HOLD THE HARVEST

is the watchword. To do that effectually you should, as far as possible, turn it into money. Sell your stock, when such a course will not entail a loss. Make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interests in your farms. A short and sharp struggle now, and the vilest oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away.

NO RENT.

Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds, provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance and

PAY NO RENT.

NO RENT.

"The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous move in their power, and that is TO QUIETLY STAY AT HOME AND PAY NO RENT. I believe that if they unitedly adopted a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known."—NASSAU WILLIAM, Senior Professor Political Economy, University of Oxford.

"I do not suggest any impossible hypothesis to your Majesty when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and the landlords might have recourse to the law, but how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for RENT OR TITHES UPON MILLIONS OF TENANTS?"—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON to the King.

"The land, therefore, of any country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator, who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them."—DR. NULTY, Bishop of Meath.

PAY NO RENT.

By Order,

PATRICK EGAN, Treasurer.

SECTION V.

THE PARNELLITES AND EARL SPENCER.

[Owing to the fact that the conversion of Earl Spencer to "Home Rule" is regarded as the most important, as it is the most inexplicable, *volte face* on the part of the Gladstonian Liberals, it is thought desirable to give the following extracts. Earl Spencer, it will be remembered, was Mr. Gladstone's viceroy from 1882 to 1885; and during his term of office there was no stronger official and no fiercer opponent of the Parnellite method of procedure. His views on the men and the aims of the Parnellite party will be found under Section VIII. As all the world knows, Earl Spencer is now one of the strongest allies Mr. Gladstone has.]

[Mr. W. O'BRIEN, ex-M.P., at CARRICK-ON-SUIR, on September 7th, 1884.]

"Ireland is ruled by the worst Englishman and the most sneaking Scotchman that ever crossed the Channel" (meaning Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan).

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at Meeting of Irish National League in DUBLIN, September 8th, 1884.]

"In their time they had been told hard things of the Tory Government, and these hard things were every one of them well deserved. But they had not for some years a chance of seeing whether a Liberal Government

was not as hard in its heart and as hypocritical in its professions. They understood being kept down by force by the iron rule of some man like Cromwell, but they did not understand being ruled by men of the mould of Earl Spencer and some of his colleagues. Dean Swift had once said, 'It was no shame to be conquered and held down by a lion, but no man should be controlled by a rat.' And he echoed the sentiment. They could understand being conquered and held down by a great man, but they could not understand being held down by men like Lord Cowper and Lord Spencer."

[From *United Ireland*, September 13th, 1884.]

"Proofs of the most appalling crimes against the present Irish administration are accumulating in such masses that nothing short of the impeachment of Earl Spencer—not even his prompt retirement—can now satisfy the public mind. The last English ruler of Ireland who was impeached, and whose head was cut off (Strafford), was guilty of very much more venial offences. Intimidating juries into false verdicts was one of his peccadilloes. Is it a worse crime to intimidate uncomplaisant juries than never to allow them to be juries at all, but to put murderers-made-easy from the Orange and Freemason Lodges in their place? . . . Strafford was not accused of killing innocent men; of letting known murderers go unharmed, or instigating foul criminals to assail his political opponents, and then screening them behind the viceregal Egis when they got the worst of it; of writing autograph letters of thanks to convicted swindlers, and placing them high in the public service; of maintaining out of secret funds a detective department which was simply a devilish factory of crime and outrage, a cave into which unsuspecting youth was seduced, to emerge on the gallows, or in a convict cell for life. These are charges for which public opinion has in vain striven, in the Press and in Parliament, to bring Earl Spencer to an account. . . . We do not expect that his allies in the English Parliament will hand Earl Spencer over to the public executioner; but we will very cheerfully force the verdict of history, when the Irish indictment is unfolded, as to what would be his fate if he had perpetrated on English freemen the slaughters, crimes, and perfidies which will be monuments of his rule in Ireland."

In the same paper, writing of Earl Spencer's visit to Killarney, Mr. Parnell's editor said: "The whole country, with a moderately-minded archbishop at its head, is importuning his administration for an inquiry into unanswered charges of judicial murder and condonation of murder and bestiality."

[Mr. JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P., at ATHLONE, October 5th, 1884.]

"They denounced Lord Spencer, and condemned him not more for the men he had imprisoned than for the men he had allowed to go at large, . . . because of the criminals he had sheltered, the miscreants he had protected and encouraged, and the depth of enormous infamy he had striven to conceal."

[Mr. JOSEPH BIGGAR, M.P., at LONDONDERRY, on January 12th, 1885.]

"You know that the present Government are guilty of the most heinous crimes. You know that Earl Spencer is guilty of murder. I say that with deliberation, and it was not the first time that it had been said: and they had offered to prove it if the Government would supply the evidence which they knew was in their possession. Every man who supported the Government of Earl Spencer was a murderer, as being responsible for the conduct of that Government. Earl Spencer did not draw the rope that hung Myles Joyce, but he was guilty all the same."

[Mr. T. M. HEALY, ex-M.P., at BELFAST, May 29th, 1885.]

"Lord Spencer does not hiss the Irish people, he bayonets them. Well, we can only hiss him *for the present*"—"the obvious meaning of which," wrote a Dublin paper, "is that we (the Irish) will presently be able to slay him."

Mr. C. S. PARNELL, M.P., in the House of Commons, on July 5th, 1885.⁷

"I say that some of the guilt of the judicial murder of Myles Joyce and four other innocent men rests with the present occupants of the front Opposition Bench. . . . It may be possible for the Irish people to forgive the conduct of Earl Spencer, but I feel sure they will never forget it."

SECTION VI.

NOTES ON PARNELLITE FINANCE.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS FUND.—Of the total amount of this fund £10,000 was diverted, without any authority from the subscribers whatever, to the League Political Fund; and a balance of £3,658. os. 3*d.* remained over, which has never been accounted for.

FAIR TRIAL FUND.—The only item of expense against this fund—which was collected to defray the expense of the abortive prosecution commenced against Messrs. Davitt, Brennan, Killen and Daly, in 1879, but which never came off—was a sum of £40 paid to the solicitors for the accused. There is, therefore, a balance of £984. os. 6*d.* unaccounted for.

PARNELL DEFENCE FUND.—This account also shows a surplus of £2,383. 16*s.* 1*d.*, of which nothing is known.

The POLITICAL (or GENERAL) FUND of the LAND LEAGUE was intended principally for the support of evicted tenants, and the funds of the Ladies' Land League were used for the same purpose, as well as providing food and other necessaries for the political prisoners, and supporting their families. The total receipts for all these purposes from Ireland, America and elsewhere amounted to—as will be seen from Table I.—£173,026. 10*s.* 9*d.*, while the total expenditure (so far as is known) was only £67,720. 14*s.* 9*d.*, leaving an unaccounted-for balance of £105,305. 16*s.* 0*d.*—that is to say, little more than a third of the amount received was spent in relieving the evicted, which was the primary purpose for which the money was subscribed.

When Mr. Egan, the Land League Treasurer, was removed from office, he professed to have a balance in hand of £31,900, but from that time to the present nothing is known by the general public as to what became of it.

IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE. — Evicted tenants are also supposed to have first claim for relief upon this fund, but out of a total of £97,537. 9*s.* 3*d.* received, according to the published reports, as per Table I., up to June 30th, 1886, they have got only £14,954. 10*s.* 0*d.*, or about one-seventh of the whole sum.

THE SOURCE OF THE PARNELLITE INCOME.—I.

[Details of Subscriptions received for "Central Fund," as distinct from the numerous "Special Funds," Money Testimonials, &c.—for which see page 111.]

	FROM IRELAND, &c.			FROM AMERICA, &c.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions acknowledged from October to December, 1879	190	15	4			
In the year 1880, they rose to	6,176	5	3	12,764	0	10
Amount transferred from League Relief Fund (subscribed in America) to Political Fund in January, 1880 ...				10,000	0	0
Balance of same fund not accounted for				3,658	0	3
				26,422	1	1
In the year 1881, when the Land League was suppressed by Proclamation, the funds, supplemented by the Ladies' Land League and Political Prisoners' Sustentation Fund, rose to	19,106	7	5	53,802	8	2
Subscriptions received by League Treasurer in Paris, from November, 1881, to April, 1882, and by Ladies' Land League and Political Prisoners' Sustentation Fund, from January to August, 1882	32,505	1	7	67,328	13	6
In the year 1883 the National League Subscriptions, including Parliamentary Fund, acknowledged were...	2,977	6	4	10,822	14	10
In the year 1884 the Subscriptions acknowledged were ...	3,707	5	2	4,081	6	0
From January to June, 1885	4,611	9	1	2,000	0	0
From July to December, 1885	7,878	14	1	20,948	0	11
From January to June, 1886	3,572	3	6	36,938	9	4
From June to September, 1886	1,080	18	6	32,555	0	4
Total £336,705 0 5	£ 81,806	6	3	254,808	14	2

The Foreign Subscriptions are thus more than three times the Subscriptions received in Ireland and Great Britain.

THE SOURCE OF THE PARNELLITE INCOME—II.

[Details of Subscriptions received for "Special Funds," as distinct from the Central Funds—for which see page 110.]

	FROM IRELAND.			FROM AMERICA, &c.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Relief of Distress Fund, 1879-80	942	9	1	59,730	0	10
Fair Trial Fund, 1879	1,024	0	6			
Parnell Defence Fund, 1880-81	19,129	15	1	1,331	9	9
Dr. Kenny and Father Sheehy Testimonials, 1882-83 ...	2,500	0	0			
Evicted Tenants' Fund, 1882-83	8,500	0	0			
Parnell Testimonial, 1883	33,808	15	7	6,191	4	5
Mr. Gray's Indemnity Fund, 1883	500	0	0			
Mr. W. O'Brien's ,, 1884-5... ..	6,200	0	0	2,000	0	0
Testimonials to Messrs. Lalor, A. O'Connor, O'Kelly, Sexton, Harrington, Sullivan, and Healy, to defray their expenses in Parliament, 1883-4-5	5,363	16	3			
Expenses of meetings, law costs, &c., defrayed locally and independent of the Central Treasury down to October, 1882, estimated by Mr. P. Egan to amount to ...	80,000	0	0			
Ditto from October, 1882, to June, 1886, say	80,000	0	0			
Loss on Dublin Exhibition, stated by Mr. Egan to amount to	25,000	0	0			
Irish Parliamentary Fund, in course of collection, to September 1st, 1886	6,592	19	3			
Total	£ 269,561	15	9	69,252	15	0
In all £338,814 10 9						

SECTION VII.

NOTES ON THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The following quotations will show the hollow falseness of the Parnellite pretence that the Convention of the Irish-American National League, held in Chicago in August last [1886], accepted Mr. Gladstone's now defunct scheme as a settlement in full of the Irish demand for Home Rule.

At a Meeting held at Ogden Grove, previous to the assembling of the Convention, under the patronage of Mr. Patrick Egan, President of the Irish-American National League, and Mr. Alexander Sullivan, ex-President of the same organisation, and at which both were present, ex-Congressman Finerty made a speech, which was enthusiastically applauded, in which he said :—

“If, as Lord Salisbury had said, ‘Manacles and Manitoba’ were the only remedies for Irish disaffection, he (Mr. Finerty) spoke no lying words when he said it would be the duty of the Irish in America to see that the people of Ireland were not left without the means of resistance.”

An address from the United Irish Societies of America was read at this meeting, and vehemently applauded and commended by the principal speakers. The following passages are taken from it :—

“The Union is void and not of binding obligation on the people of Ireland, and it does not confer on the British Parliament the right to make laws to bind the Irish nation. . . . We hold it sound in principle, true in morals, and justifiable by the highest standard of reason to declare and maintain that the Irish people have the right, and may warrantably

endeavour to overthrow British dominion in that country by force of arms. . . . We are unalterably of the conviction that no man has the right to or can bind the Irish nation to accept, as a final settlement or adjustment of the great and long-continued wrongs and grievances inflicted by British power, any Act of Parliament which does not restore to Ireland a native Parliament representative of all her people, and vested with plenary powers and authority, not subordinate to the British Parliament, to originate and enact laws and measures for the government of the Irish nation ; we shall regard the offer or pledge of any Parliamentary representative of Ireland to accept, or that Ireland will accept, such an inadequate grant or concession in full satisfaction and final settlement of her just demand as unauthorised and a violation of his sacred trust.

“ Mr. Michael Davitt, who was present, took exception to some of Mr. Finerty’s remarks, and that gentleman defended himself in a strong speech, which was loudly cheered, in which he said, ‘ Mr. Parnell had declared, at meetings in London and Portsmouth, that he would accept Mr. Gladstone’s Home Rule Bill as final. Did Mr. Parnell or Mr. Davitt mean to tell the American people that they would hide under a little corner of the Union Jack ? If they in America could in any way harass England, they would do it. . . . It should be understood that they did not approve of Mr. Parnell’s offer to accept Mr. Gladstone’s Home Rule Bill as a final settlement of the Irish question. It was better that Irishmen in America should tell the leaders in Ireland what they wanted than that the English should tell them. Mr. Parnell had denied his American brethren in the British House of Commons, but they would not deny him. They would never surrender the idea of revenge until England had paid the last morsel of reparation for all the wrong she had done to Ireland. . . . In conclusion, he said, ‘ I pray to God that the time may come when, upon some broad field arranged in the order of battle, the Irish race would wipe out, in honest warfare, the stigma of the Boyne and the wrongs of Ireland.’ ”

In opening the proceedings of the Convention, President Egan delivered a long speech, in which he said :—

“ Unity, caution, perseverance, and determination, are the necessity of the hour—unity between all honest, manly elements of Irish Nationalism on this continent, under the banner of the Irish National League of America, and unity of purpose and of action between the League in America and the League at home—caution that no word or act of ours will compromise our friends beyond the water, but at the same time caution that must never degenerate into cowardice, and determination, such as

that shown by the fathers of American liberty, to win back our plundered rights at all hazards. I see emblazoned on these walls the motto, 'we are for Irish liberty, peacefully if we can, otherwise if we must.' (Loud and continued cheering). This is the true National position. This is the position which every true-born American can appreciate—the only position that England can respect—and I maintain it is the position and spirit which has placed the cause of Irish Nationality where it stands to-day." (Loud cheers).

The proceedings all through were dominated and controlled by Messrs. Sullivan and Egan, and the significant caution which the latter inculcated not to "compromise their friends across the water," was well observed ; nevertheless, there is not a sentence in either the resolutions or the speeches of the delegates from Ireland (Messrs. O'Brien, Redmond and Deasy), to justify, or more than give colour to, the statement that Mr. Gladstone's scheme would be accepted by the Irish in America as anything more than an instalment of their demand. Mr. Finerty said this openly, and also expressed his approval of the pronouncements of the Irish delegates, despite their caution. And, indeed, they did not fall far short of the candour of Mr. Finerty himself. For instance, in Mr. Redmond's speech, reported in the *Chicago Citizen*, the following passage will be found :—

"Are the people guiding that movement entitled to your continued support? That can only be answered by the declaration, that we are animated by the same hopes and guided by the same principles as yourselves ; and, in the second place, that that policy in the past has been a wise, honest, and successful one. Now, what is the one great principle underlying this movement? It is the unqualified recognition of the distinct Nationality of Ireland. (Tumultuous cheering). We are not working for the removal of grievances. We are not simply labouring for the amelioration of the material condition of our people. The principle at the back of this movement to-day is the same principle which formed the soul of other Irish movements in the past—rebellion against the rule of the strangers. (Thunders of applause). It is the principle which Owen Roe O'Neill vindicated upon the banks of the Blackwater—the principle which inspired Tone and Fitzgerald, and for which Emmet sacrificed his life." (At this point the audience rose and cheered itself hoarse).

It should be added, that it is notorious that Messrs. Sullivan and Egan, who so successfully managed this Convention, are also the guiding spirits of

the *Clan-na-Gael* Secret Revolutionary Society, which is responsible for the dynamite explosions in London, and elsewhere in Great Britain, for the past three years.

At a meeting held in New York, after the Convention, Mr. Finerty said, "The statement that I was not supported in my views by a majority of the audience is infamously false, and simply a dishonourable attempt to deceive the American and English people as to the real sentiment of the Irish-American masses. . . . Mr. Redmond spoke with consideration and truth. I have no fault to find with his utterances, nor those of O'Brien and Deasy."

SECTION VIII.

SOME LIBERAL STATESMEN ON THE
PARNELLITES, &c.

MR. GLADSTONE ON MR. PARNELL.

[HOUSE OF COMMONS, January 28th, 1881.]

"We have got before us a state of crime widely extended. Gentlemen would have us to suppose that this crime is owing to distress in Ireland, that it is owing to evictions in Ireland. It is evident, by the testimony afforded by facts, that it is owing neither to the one nor to the other. . . . *With fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League.*"

[HOUSE OF COMMONS, January 28th, 1881.]

"Comparing his language in and out of Parliament. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Parnell) gave us in this House a most attractive account of the operations and objects of the Land League. Nothing could be smoother than his language, nothing could be more moderate than its purposes, as he described them. But let us see what is the language he holds on the other side of the water. 'Now, what are you to do,' he asks, 'for the tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?'"

Amidst constant interruption from Irish M.P.'s Mr. Gladstone read Mr. Parnell's reply to his own question— a reply sworn to and proved by a special reporter in a Court of Justice.

"You must *show* him on the roadside when you meet him ; you must *show* him in the streets of the town ; you must *show* him at the fair and marketplace, and even in the House of Worship, by leaving him severely alone, by sending him to a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind, as if he were the leper of old ; you must *show* him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it, if the

counties of Ireland carried out this doctrine, that no man, no matter how full of avarice, how lost to shame, will transgress your unwritten code.”—*Hans.*, vol. 257, p. 1,691-93, 1881.

[At LEEDS, October 7th, 1881.]

“For nearly the first time in the history of Christendom, *a body—a small body—of men have arisen who are not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrines of public plunder.* . . . I take as the representative of the opinions I denounce the name of a gentleman of considerable ability—Mr. Parnell, the member for Cork—a gentleman, I will admit, of considerable ability, but whose doctrines are not such as really need any considerable ability to recommend them. *If you go forth upon a mission to demoralise a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the objects of their covetous desire, it does not require super-human gifts to find a certain number of followers and adherents for a doctrine such as that.*”

[At LEEDS, October 8th, 1881.]

“Mr. Parnell is very copious in his references to America. He has said America is the only friend of Ireland ; but, in all his references to America, he has never found time to utter one word of disapproval of, or misgiving about, what is known as the assassination literature of that country.”

[At the GUILDHALL, London, October 14th, 1881.]

“The man who has unhappily made himself *beyond all others prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law, to substitute what would end in being nothing more or less than anarchical oppression* exercised upon the people of Ireland.”

[At KNOWSLEY, October 27th, 1881.]

“It is a great issue ; it is a conflict for the very first and elementary principles upon which civil society is constituted. It is idle to talk of either law or order, or liberty or religion, or civilisation, if these gentlemen are to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes that they have devised. Rapine is the first object ; but rapine is not the only object. It is perfectly true that these gentlemen wish to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and, I am sorry to say, even to the placing of different parts of the Empire in

direct hostility one with the other. That is the issue in which we are engaged. Our opponents are not the people of Ireland. We are endeavouring to relieve the people of Ireland from the weight of a tyrannical yoke."

[HOUSE OF COMMONS, January 11th, 1882.]

"They (hon. gentlemen) must explain, by some statement of fact, if they could give a different colour to the relations of the Land League to the crimes committed in Ireland, and they must explain the reason of the breaking down of the administration of justice. What did the breaking down mean? *It meant the destruction of the peace of life; it meant the placing in abeyance of the most sacred duties and the most cherished duties; it meant the servitude of good men, the impunity and supremacy of bad men.*"

[HOUSE OF COMMONS, April 4th, 1882.]

"In my opinion that item which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Gorst) has omitted from his speech, is by far the most formidable feature in it—namely, the really strong presumption that behind the commission of these outrages *there are influences at work higher than any that belong to those who commit them.*"

ON THE NATIONAL PRESS OF IRELAND.

"What that literature is is well known. It is well known how it teaches and preaches in every form, with an amount of boldness and audacity varying from week to week and from month to month, *hatred of the institutions and government of the United Kingdom.* It is known how that weekly literature poisons the minds of the people in Ireland, who read it against all law and against the Constitution of their country. It is known how it inflames the passions of the people by rhetorical descriptions of the wrongs of other days. It is known how it makes it impossible for those who read that literature, and read none other, to know the truth with respect to public affairs, and the real conduct and intentions of the Government of the country. It is well known how constantly—sometimes openly and undisguisedly, sometimes under some disguise more or less thin—it points, not to any Constitutional means for the redress of what may be deemed grievances, not to any action within the law and Constitution, *but to violence and civil war.*"—*Hansard*, vol. 200, p. 100, March 17th, 1870.

THE OBJECTS OF IRISH AGITATORS.

" . . . But these are not persons seeking amendment of the law. *They are seeking to dismember the British Empire.* Now, sir, it appears to me that the Executive, in the face of a fact like this, had one duty to perform, not its only duty, but certainly its first duty, and one so distinct and important that nothing should be mixed up with the performance of that duty which can possibly be construed into a condition or a restriction."—*Hans.*, vol. 181, p. 268, 8—2—66.

CONCESSION CREATES NEW DEMANDS.

"It is with concern, and even melancholy, I observe that *the greater the extension we can give to the scope of the Bill the greater become the demands which are made upon us.* *There are, however, limits to the embarrassments of proprietorship*, in which it is undesirable that we should involve ourselves, and the extent of the operations we propose to undertake are limited by the Bill."—*Hans.*, vol. 263, p. 603, July 11th, 1881.

INGRATITUDE OF IRISH MEMBERS.

"This house, I say, has acceded to much to which it was reluctant to accede, and many hon. members from Ireland seem to take no account of that. The hon. member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) how does he take account of it? He expressed no acknowledgment, no gratitude, to the House—(Mr. Healy: 'Not a bit'). He expressed no acknowledgment, no gratitude, to the 550 representatives of England and Scotland for the provisions they have adopted in this Bill, the extraordinary measures they have adopted in this Bill out of consideration for the circumstances of Ireland."—*Hans.*, vol. 263, p. 658, August 12th, 1881.

CRIME AND THE LAND LEAGUE.

"So that with fatal and painful precision *the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League*, and it is not possible to get rid by any ingenuity of facts such as I have stated by vague and general complaints, by imputations against parties, imputations against England, imputations against Governments."—*Hans.*, vol. 257, p. 1,697, January 28th, 1881.

JUSTICE.

"It is the administration of justice which constitutes the safety of the private individual, and which is the true guarantee both of rights and liberties."—*Hans.*, vol. 257, p. 1,697, *January 28th*, 1881.

"LESS THAN CHILDREN" TO GRANT HOME RULE.

"Her Majesty's Government would be less than children in the practice of the business of the State and of Parliament, if they could be so weak as to suppose it was possible to bring the policy recommended by them to Parliament into harmony with the objects which the hon. member for Cork is believed to pursue."—*Hans.*, vol. 253, p. 1,654, *July 5th*, 1880.

EARL SPENCER.

[At BRISTOL, November 14th, 1881.]

"*We feel like the Americans when the integrity of their country was threatened, and, if necessary, we must shed blood to maintain the strength and salvation of this country.* (Hear, hear.) If they understand that, we must invite our Irish countrymen to look with confidence to England, to those who are anxious to extend the same privileges and liberties which they themselves possess; and let us remind them that those liberties and privileges have been obtained in old times, not by lawless agitation, but by Constitutional means." (Loud cheers.)

[At BELFAST, June 18th, 1884.]

"We have yet to deal with crime undiscovered, secret conspiracy, and threads which must be unravelled to their fountain head. *Note, who are these men? What do they aim at? They pretend that they want the dismemberment of this Empire,* and what they call the Liberation of the Irish nation. *I am not merely speaking this from conjecture. The deeds of those men to whom I have referred will, however, be as futile as they are dastardly. They will not terrify the English nation.*"

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.

[At ACCRINGTON, December 1st, 1883.]

"If Mr. Parnell and his friends were engaged in a Constitutional agitation for Constitutional ends some co-operation or common action with them would not, in my opinion, be discreditable, and might be expedient ; but so long as Mr. Parnell and his friends do not seek to gain Constitutional ends by Constitutional legislation, but seek to inflame the Irish people against their English fellow-subjects, and against every institution by which property and order are secured—so long as they ally themselves with these, and receive the support of those who do not scruple to use, not Constitutional agitation, but violence and force to gain their ends—so long is it impossible for any English party to have any common connection and have any alliance with that party." (Cheers.)

RIGHT HON. SIR G. TREVELYAN, BART.

[At HAWICK, February, 1883.]

"If you want to get at the truth, you must never forget that there are two Irelands—the Ireland of men of all creeds, ranks and callings, who, whatever else they may differ upon, unite in wishing to preserve law and order, and the right of every citizen to go about his business in peace and safety ; and there is the other Ireland—the smaller Ireland, as I firmly believe—of the men who foment, and condone, and sympathise with crime. It is the gravest mistake to under-rate the numbers and the claims to respect of the party of order in Ireland. It is not a political party. It includes the great Liberal party of the North, which, in all its essential features, resembles the Liberal party in Scotland. It includes the Conservatives. I had heard a great deal beforehand of the bitterness of Whig and Tory in Ireland, but, as far as my personal experience and observation are concerned, I never came across men more ready at a crisis, cheerfully and unostentatiously, to place patriotism before party than the Conservatives of the sister isle. The party of order includes the best, and, as I believe, the great majority of the Catholic population. . . . It includes every farmer who does not want to rob the landlord of his due, and who does not want to be forced to pay black-mail to agitation ; every poor fellow who desires to be at liberty to earn a day's wages, by whomsoever they are offered to him, without being shunned.

insulted, beaten, and, too probably, murdered ; every artisan who is thrown out of work by the flight of capital from his country ; everyone who desires to lead a quiet life in private and to obtain his political ends, whatever they may be, by legitimate and Constitutional means. *On the other hand stand the men who planned and executed the Dublin murders, the Galway murders, the Boycotting and firing into houses, the mutilation of cattle and intimidation of every sort and kind throughout the island.* Verdicts were given in Dublin against the perpetrators of these horrible murders, and then began what I believe to be the greatest crime that has occurred time out of mind in the history of Ireland. . . . Mr. Field was terribly wounded by men who fully intended to kill him. Judge Lawson would have been killed but for the presence of mind of one of his attendants ; and there is not the smallest doubt that these gentlemen were selected *as victims, because they had been denounced and pointed out to the assassins in incendiary articles and speeches.* . . . *Articles and speeches, which are not made for the purpose of argument, but for the purpose of denunciation, and which are just as much part of the machinery of murder as the sword-cane and pistol are.*

RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P.

[In the HOUSE OF COMMONS during debate on the Irish University Education Bill.]

“ If they were to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, he feared they would find themselves reduced to the consequences of not governing Ireland at all. . . . For himself, not being a ‘ Home Ruler,’ he had never adopted the idea of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas. He had always regarded Ireland as part of Her Majesty’s dominions — as an integral fraction of a united Empire — and, if that be so, Ireland, like other parts of the dominion of the Queen, must be governed, not according to Irish, but according to Imperial ideas. Imperial ideas were exactly opposite, as far as he could judge, to Irish ideas. The House of Commons had not to consider whether a measure squared with Irish ideas, or satisfied the demands of any section of the Irish people, but whether it was consistent with equal justice ; and having matured such a measure, it was their duty to offer it for acceptance by the Irish people, leaving to those who rejected it the responsibility of that refusal.”

[At GLASGOW, October 25th, 1881.]

“It is true there is a strong party of irreconcilable politicians who do not represent Ireland, men whose object, I am sorry to say, I believe is not so much to benefit Ireland as to injure England. Theirs has not been a policy of reconciliation and reform, but of hatred and disunion. No doubt we are at issue with them to the last extremity, to the extremity which was unhappily reached in the United States of America, where men were satisfied to pour out their blood like water to maintain the integrity of their country and their empire. . . . The land agitation in their hands was an agitation whose object was to destroy the union of the Empire and to overthrow the established Government of the United Kingdom. Mr. Parnell admits now that what he wants is not fair rent, he wants no rent at all. He wants to get rid of the landlords, in order that he may get rid of the English Government; and for this object every kind of intimidation has been employed to deter honest men from doing their duty and fulfilling their obligations. The Land League has employed terms whose avowed object is to set aside and overrule the law of the land. It is utterly impossible that any Government, responsible for civilised society, can tolerate such a condition of things. The Land League has thrown over the false colours of Fair Rent; it has hoisted the Red Flag, and the buccaneering craft sails under its true colours. The Liberal party never will have anything to do with attacks upon property, any more than upon the person of our fellow-citizens. The landowner has just as good a right to a fair rent as you or I have to the coat upon our back. Whenever the Liberal party has allied itself with anti-social ideas, whenever it follows some of these misty philosophers in courses which have destroyed the safety of society, it has come to grief, as it deserved to come to grief.”

[At PLYMOUTH, September 17th, 1885.]

“There has been a still more serious question than Boycotting raised in Ireland; because, since the declaration of Mr. Parnell, there can be no doubt what is the policy that he and his party have adopted—it is a policy of the absolute separation of the two countries. How has that declaration been met? Two speakers, eminently entitled to represent the Liberal party—Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain—have spoken on this matter, and they have spoken in a manner worthy of their position, and worthy of the party they represent.”

[At BLANDFORD, September 28th, 1886.]

"I will give you one more specimen. Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, made a speech in which he said this :—'Mr. Parnell's eighty members of Parliament would fasten in the flank in the English Parliament, and rankle in them like a spear-head. If the English people did not want peace, Mr. Parnell would give them war—such war as eighty Irish guerillas could carry on with the weapon of the franchise, with the weapon of the Boycotting pike, as it was called, and with any other weapon that time and opportunity might offer them.' That is what we have to meet, and if the English Parliament is not to become a helpless tool in the hands of this party you must give an overwhelming majority to the only party which has the courage and the honesty to face them."

[HOUSE OF COMMONS.]

"We have heard the doctrine of the Land League expounded by the man (Mr. Dillon) who is an authority to explain it, and to-morrow every subject of the Queen will know that the doctrine so expounded is the doctrine of treason and assassination. . . . To-morrow the civilised world will pronounce its judgment on this vile conspiracy. . . . The Land League is an association which depends upon the support of the Fenian conspiracy.

. . . Who were the chief agents by whom it was started and conducted? Why, they were notorious Fenians, many of whom had been convicted, while others were perfectly well known to be connected with the Fenian conspiracy. —*Hans.*, vol. 229, p. 160, *et seq.*

"Mr. Parnell said that for himself he had the greatest respect for many Fenians who believed in the separation of Ireland from England by physical force. . . . Am I right or wrong in saying that this Land League organisation is really Fenian, and Fenian in its character? . . . Mr. Dillon said that the Land League had three objects in view—first, to paralyse the Government; secondly, to obstruct Parliament; and, thirdly, to supersede the action of the law. But if they had accomplished these objects they would have done all that the Fenian organisation contemplated—they would have overthrown the Constitution as much as if they had attacked it successfully by open force. . . . Mr. Parnell has never denied that there are a great number of Fenians connected with the Land League in America. He cannot deny it. . . . When we

see men seeking the support of arms to assist their purposes, and find members of the Land League in communication with Communism in Paris and Fenianism in America, then I say the maxim applies, '*Noscitur ex sociis.*'"—(*Hans.*, vol. 250, p. 842.)

RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

[At BIRMINGHAM, January 3rd, 1882.]

"I should like very much to ask any man not inflamed by prejudice or passion—I should like to ask you how it would be possible to treat a portion of the United Kingdom with greater freedom and generosity with regard to representation than Ireland is treated by the Union, and is treated now. But surely one may ask, Why is it that in Ireland, where there is a great field for it, this capital does not find great and constant and profitable employment? It is because, in that country, there is disorder and insecurity—(hear, hear)—and every Irishman who, in pursuit of political objects, stirs up disorder and insecurity, is not the friend, but the enemy, of his country." (Loud cheers.)

[At BIRMINGHAM, June 14th, 1882.]

"An Irish rebel party, the main portion of whose funds for agitation came directly from the avowed enemies of England, and whose oath of allegiance is broken by association with its enemies."

[In HOUSE OF COMMONS, June 20th, 1883.]

Mr. Bright, who had called the Parnellite party "Irish rebels" on a previous occasion, thus justified the use of the term:—"I recollect that on more than one occasion members of the Parnellite party stated that this was a foreign Legislature—(Irish cheers)—and that the Government sitting on these benches, selected by the Queen, and in accord with the majority of this House, is a foreign Government. (Renewed Irish cheers.) Mr. Dillon, one of the most respectable members of that party, made a very remarkable speech—I don't quote his words—but he said: 'They

were obliged to carry on this conflict in the House because they had not the means to carry on the conflict against England in the open field.' (Prolonged Irish cheers.) I stated in the House of Commons what had taken place at the Convention at Chicago—not long ago there was a Convention at Philadelphia—and the hon. member for Cork is reported to have telegraphed to the Convention, telling the promoters of it to take care not to cause him any embarrassment in the line they might take. But everybody knows, it is notorious all over the United States of America, that the Irish population who assembled at that Convention are not only the avowed enemies of England, but are themselves, by all means in their power, preparing for some occasion when they can commence operations of war against the English Parliament. (Loud cheers.) There are movements in the United States in connection with associations in Ireland whose leaders are in this House. I say, and I put it to the Attorney-General, or to any other eminent lawyer, if there be an association in the United States for raising funds for purposes hostile to the English monarchy, and if that association be sending funds over here to an association which does not adopt the same name, but looks to the same end—I say those men are breaking the law, and are themselves deserving of the title which I gave to some of them. (Loud cheers.) The avowed object of that particular Irish party with which some hon. gentlemen are associated is to dethrone the Queen from her sovereignty. (Loud cries of 'No, no,' and 'Order.')

I can only say to the hon. member for Cork if he were here, and I say to his followers now, that if they will declare that their object is loyal to the Crown, that they will dissociate themselves from their associates in America, then I will withdraw the words I used, and will make the most complete apology that it is possible to put into words." (Loud cheers.)

[At a BANQUET at the REFORM CLUB, July 24th, 1885.]

"Who were the assailants of the noble earl (Lord Spencer)? They were to be found in some of the conductors of the Irish press and in some of those who professed to be the representatives of Ireland. Now, these men—he spoke of those who had brought those hideous charges against Lord Spencer—were disloyal to the Crown, and directly hostile to Great Britain. (Cheers.) They obstructed all legislation which was intended to discover, or to prevent, or to punish crime. They had insulted and denounced every man in Ireland concerned with the just administration of the law. They had attacked the Viceroy in a manner hitherto unknown. They had attacked the judges. They had displayed

a boundless sympathy for criminals and murderers. (Cheers.) But from their lips not one sentence of emphatic condemnation of the murderers had passed, and not a word of pity for their victims."

RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

[At BIRMINGHAM, in June, 1881.]

"There is no secret about what I am going to say, there is no dispute about it. Mr. Parnell and those who follow him have never concealed the fact that their chief object is not the removal of grievance in Ireland, but the separation of Ireland from England."

[At LIVERPOOL, October 25th, 1881.]

"I have spoken of the avowed object of the Land League. 'It is, of course, no secret that there has been in the minds of the leaders of the agitation other objects of a totally different character,' but so long as they pursued their avowed object they were perfectly in the right. The cry of 'No Rent' was substituted for 'Fair Rent.' First it was suggested, now it has been openly avowed. . . . Then we found all the machinery of intimidation brought once more into play. 'We found the Government was being ousted from its place in order to make way for the leaders of the Land League, whose dictates were subverting the law of the land.' . . . The course pursued by the Land League unquestionably tended to demoralise the people. . . . The Land League had demanded that a change should be made, but their secret object was to inflame the grievance under which the Irish people suffered, and not to attempt to apply a remedy for it. . . . Throughout the proceedings the object of the Irish party had been to secure National Independence. . . . Unless they were prepared for a separation, the time had come when the Government were bound to assert their authority. . . . Radical as he professed to be, and was, he would say this, that the Union must be preserved, and could not possibly be destroyed." (Renewed cheering.)

[At BIRMINGHAM, June 19th, 1886.]

"The leaders of the National movement speak now with bated breath and silky accents in the House of Commons. Yes, but the foul machinery

and organisation of crime still remains in the land, and even the leaders are not able altogether to control the forces, the dread forces, they have called into being."

[Extract from Letter to a Boston Correspondent.]

"Mr. Parnell's (Tenant Relief) Bill could have done little for the honest tenant, whilst it would have thrown the whole system of land tenure once more into confusion. The only people who have already made, and who would benefit, would be the well-paid patriots who have already made such a profitable business out of this agitation. I am glad to think that they are beginning to be found out both in America and Ireland, and I should not be surprised if the influence which they have exercised with such unhappy effect for the past few years should speedily collapse, in face of the determination of the people of Great Britain not to yield one inch to the vile conspiracy which relies on outrage and assassination to promote its ends."—*October 2nd, 1886.*

THE LAW OFFICER OF THE CROWN—1880.

REPORT OF TRIAL OF QUEEN V. PARNELL AND OTHERS. Dublin,
December, 1880.]

"Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, T. D. Sullivan, and Biggar, Members of Parliament, together with Messrs. Egan, Brennan, Sheridan, Boyton, Nally, and others, were prosecuted by the Government for conspiracy to prevent tenants paying their rent, for Boycotting, for threatening violence, for impeding and frustrating the administration of justice, for unlawfully, wickedly and seditiously conspiring to create discontent and disaffection among the people, and exciting ill-will and hostility between the different classes." The Attorney-General for Ireland in his opening statement described the leaders of the Land League as "preachers of sedition," as engaged in "an illegal and mischievous conspiracy," and charged them with open defiance of the law.

[ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND, SPEECH IN HOUSE OF COMMONS,
February 16th, 1882.]

"The action of the Land League was intended not to facilitate, but to obstruct the working of the Land Act. . . . The effect of

the action of the Land League was to be that the Queen's subjects were not to be allowed to avail themselves of the provisions of an Act which Parliament had passed for the redress of their grievances They were to select test cases of an average character, in which the rents were neither too high nor too low, that was to say, cases in which the rent was a fair one. Such a direction as that was 'fraught with treason.' Mr. Parnell had said, referring to the spirit that was shown in every part of Ireland, 'That spirit, fellow countrymen, will never die till it carries the alien rule which has kept our country impoverished and in chains, and sweeps that detested rule, with its 'buckshot' and bayonets, clean over the Channel, whence it came, never to return.' What was that but 'rank treason?' A man was not to have liberty even to apply to the Queen's Courts without the permission of this Land League ; they need not tell him that all this was not treason ; Mr. Parnell was at this time 'steeped in treason to the lips.'"

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